Differential Recruitment to and Outcomes of Solidarity Activism

Ethics, Values and Group Style in the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement

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DIFFERENTIAL RECRUITMENT TO AND OUTCOMES OF SOLIDARITY ACTIVISM

ETHICS, VALUES AND GROUP STYLE IN THE DANISH REFUGEE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

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To my parents

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been if it were not for a lot of people who have played crucial roles at different stages in the process of producing it. First of all, I am grateful to the many volunteers and activists, in what I have named the Refugee Solidarity Movement, who have participated in hour long interviews. The knowledge I gathered in these interviews constitutes the backbone of the dissertation. When I set out, I had hoped to find 10, maybe 20, current and prior members of the movement who would participate, but due to the invaluable effort of my gatekeepers I ended up with 42 interviews with as many activists. Second, the 2,289 persons who responded to the online survey that constitutes the second data source of this dissertation should be acknowledged. Moreover, in relation to setting up the online-survey I wish to thank Oscar Enghoff who professionally programmed the online-questionnaire and the IT-department and in particular Martin Nikolajsen who provided excellent services in preparing and running the servers and the successful experiment of integrating a Facebook-app in the survey.

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the questions it raises after four years of not thinking about much else, is to a large degree due to Peter's continuous support and encouragement to pursue my many ideas of new theories, methods and data-sources. But Peter also became my co-author when he could not resist joining in on a project of surveying the movement. I am not sure this dissertation had ever been finished without him being there at all stages.

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Mr. K and the cats

Mr. K did not love cats. They did not appear to him to be friends of humankind; hence he was not their friend, either. "If we have common interests," he said, "then I would be indifferent to their hostile attitude." But Mr. K was reluctant to chase cats from his chair. "To lay oneself down to rest is work," he said. "It should be allowed to succeed." And if cats meowed outside his door he rose from his bed, even when it was cold, and let them into the warmth. "Their calculation is simple," he said. "If they cry out, the door is opened for them. If the door is no longer opened for them, they will no longer cry out. To cry out, that's progress."

—Bertolt Brecht, *Stories of Mr. Keuner*

1. Introduction

This dissertation is concerned with a certain kind of activism, namely solidarity activism, taking place in a cluster of grass root networks, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and associations of people engaged in solidarity work with refugees in Denmark, that I call *the refugee solidarity movement*. Thus, we are not dealing with a movement made up of immigrants or refugees fighting for their own rights like the U.S. immigrant rights movement (Bloemraad *et al.* 2016; Voss and Bloemraad 2011), or the Sans-Papiers in France (Freedman 2004; McNevin 2006). Rather, we are dealing with Danes from the majority culture acting in solidarity with refugees. Solidarity activism implies that its purpose is to further the cause of someone else who is perceived as unfortunate, often a victim. In this case, the unfortunate is the refugee who has been forced to flee his or her home to find a haven where life can continue. They receive help from movement activists who provide clothing, furniture, toys, money, or whatever the newly arrived refugees may need. They organize events to help promote cultural integration, support them in the processing of their legal cases, protest relevant laws perceived as unfair, and, on rare occasions, assist refugees who have decided to go underground to avoid deportation they fear may be fatal. This kind of solidarity activism is at the center of this dissertation's basic question: Why do people who appear to have no part in the events that have led to another person's misfortune involve themselves in the fate of the unfortunate refugee, that is, why altruism?

However, it is a central tenet in this dissertation that it is false to perceive such acts as altruistic in the utilitarian sense where ego, in a seemingly irrational manner, sacrifices something to help alter. It is false because this approach makes sense only if we assume that ego and alter are two separate entities living in different worlds with no bearing on each another. In this light, altruism is sensational, and its origin becomes a mystery that must be unraveled. It can either be revealed as not truly altruistic because it turns out that ego nevertheless benefits from what initially appeared to be an unselfish act to help alter, or it may be ascribed to the power of irrational emotions, which are perceived as a malfunction.

This dissertation starts from the opposite standpoint and assumes that we are not separate entities living in separate worlds. Instead, not only do our choices and actions influence the lives of other people and vice versa, we exist only as social creatures constituted by the relationships and interactions we are part of and in which we have been involved. "Man is born in society [...] and there he remains" Adam Ferguson (1782 [1767], 27) famously summarized Montesquieu, asserting the ontological fact of human beings' inherently social nature, which continues to be fundamental to most sociology and finds a more recent expression in Elias' notion of *homines aperti* (open people) as opposed to the misleading but widespread idea of *homo clausus* (closed man) (Elias 1978). Then, the question of why the single individual helps a stranger becomes a question of what it is about *us* that such actions signify. Also, when such acts become part of a contentious struggle over principal and global issues of immigration, nationalism, and security, they certainly become questions about the ideational foundation of our society. To continue the reasoning of Brecht's Mr. K quoted above, what progress on our part is lost if we no longer open the doors and the cats stop crying out? Alternatively, what progress is defended when some insist on leaving the door ajar?

Thus, the overall question that motivates this dissertation is to understand what it is about us that makes the individual person feel responsible for the other to the extent that the individual engages in actions which may entail substantial cost and risk in order to assist the unfortunate. The "us" of this question is both the big "us" of the wider society characterized by its values and institutions to which the individual belongs (Durkheim 1975) and the small "us" of the dyad of the unfortunate and the spectator in concrete situations (Boltanski 1999; Løgstrup 1997), as well as all the "us" in between, comprising groups, institutions, organizations, and so forth. These different "us" are intrinsically linked, which becomes evident when people who help refugees are labeled traitors to the nation and are blamed for showing kindness toward refugees of a nationality other than Danish. In the heated and contentious atmosphere that surrounds the issues of immigration and refugees in Denmark and, indeed, the whole of Europe

and North America, basic acts of kindness toward non-nationals—implying that the Dane and the refugee are of the same "us"—take on a political significance that spurs strong reactions from those who wish to delimit the "us" to exclude the refugee.

The dissertation thus asserts a fundamental connection between the small "us" and the bigger "us". Sociologists have formulated this connection in a variety of ways from Benedict Andersons assertion that everyday practices reproduce the construct of the nation (2006 [1983]) to the concept of a civil religion focusing on how rituals reaffirm a secular religion of society (Bellah 1967). Such thinking probably finds its most general expression in Berger and Luckmann's institutionalism (1990 [1966]) but also resonates with classical sociological thinking (Durkheim 2008; Marx 1978). At the heart of these classical texts lies the observation that institutions and values (Joas 2000) are the product of processes of interpretation and the creating of meaning for human life. Even though values and institutions may be experienced as external entities, thereby enjoying a relative autonomy, they are nonetheless reproduced and reconfigured through human practice.

The definition of "us" then comes to signify those with whom we share an affinity warranting solidarity (Durkheim 1997). For "us" to include the other—with or without affinities enabling sympathy and perhaps solidarity—it is crucial to act like Brecht's Mr. K who establishes a bond of sympathy with the cats by recognizing a basic affinity in the observation that '"To lay oneself down to rest is work," he said. "It should be allowed to succeed."' In relation to refugee solidarity, the question becomes whether it is enough that we share our world and are part of a common humanity or if the hierarchy of the nation-state system should determine for whom we have a responsibility to care (Boltanski 1999; Boltanski and Thévenot 2006)? This struggle over the appropriate definition of "us" then becomes a struggle over the basic values and principles of society.

As will be shown below, the people with whom this dissertation is preoccupied have, by their actions of solidarity, given a clear answer to "the vexed ethical question of whether we see ourselves and others as united by our common humanity or differentiated by our social identity" (Jackson 2013). In their view, we share our world with the people we encounter because we are part of a common humanity. Thus, we should not just ignore the people we share the world with and claim no responsibility for them. To the extent we do not care for them and fail to act as such, we destroy the world we inhabit with the other, and thereby the life of which we ourselves are a part (Løgstrup 1997, 2007). The claim is not that they think of it this way or would even describe it in such words, but they act according to such an ethic.

Following these considerations, the overall ambition of this dissertation is, through studies of the small "us," to shed a bit of light on what struggles lie at the heart of the

big "us" of modern Western societies concerning the issues of immigration and refugees. To be clear, the issue of the fundamental value struggle in Danish society is nowhere close to fully covered in this dissertation. It is nonetheless a relevant perspective to the following analyses. In light of this more general view, in line with Alexander (2006), the Danish refugee solidarity movement constitutes a prism that sharpens our view of what is at stake in the ongoing struggle over society's basic values (see also Joas 2013). Indeed, what motivated the formulation of this research project to begin with, was the intuition that when ordinary middle-class citizens in one of the world's richest, most equal, and happiest societies suddenly start to protest their government and even commit civil disobedience such as assisting refugees in going underground for whom they have no formal responsibility and hardly know, it must signify some substantial political discord at the more fundamental level of the basic principles and values of society.

The dissertation situates itself in the processual and relational social movement tradition (McAdam *et al.* 2001; Tarrow 2011; Tilly and Wood 2009) but also benefits from insights from the new social movement and European tradition (Della Porta 1995; Johnston and Klandermans 1995; Melucci 1989, 1996; Porta and Giugni 2013) as well as the culturally oriented tradition (Goodwin *et al.* 2009; Jasper 2008, 2011; Polletta 1998; Doerr 2012, 2008). In dialogue with central questions and problems of this body of literature, through empirically informed analyses, the aim is to characterize the movement and address the above mentioned more general questions. In truth, despite disagreements and divisions in the research field, this dissertation overall takes a constructive approach and combines insights from different lines of theory, also from beyond the social movement literature, to the extent it is helpful to analyze the problem under scrutiny.

The dissertation contributes mainly to the two questions of differential recruitment—what accounts for activists' involvement in different activities—and the question of social movement outcome in the form of activism's lasting impact on the views, perceptions, and attitudes of those involved. These contributions, dispersed in four papers, show that in solidarity activism the ethical commitment to care for the unfortunate is a central ethical driver of activism that may effect involvement in high-risk activism despite none or only little prior experience with activism. This ethical demand is mediated by basic human values of self-transcendence, that is, awareness of the fact that our lives depend on each another and that our acts have consequences for the fortune of others. Such basic human values are shown to be important for how we react emotionally to major events, and how emotional reactions influence our propensity to

engage in low- and high-risk activism respectively. The ethical dimension is also expressed in how variation between group styles that constitute interaction orders affect the level of contentious activism. Activists in groups with a style that focuses on the immediate compassion and care for the refugees and excludes the political dimension of the refugees' misfortune engage to a lesser degree in political protest, no matter their prior history of activism, than do activists in a group culture that focuses on the political and contentious dimension of the matter. Finally, being engaged in refugee activism often involves experiencing a bureaucratic system that lacks any degree of compassion and care for the cases of the refugees it processes. For an activist engaged personally in the cases of refugees, such bureaucratic processing involving little or no care for the human beings behind the dossiers when combined with an experience of systematic bias against the refugee results in a loss of trust in such institutions which becomes an outcome of activism in the refugee solidarity movement.

These main contributions are argued in four chapters following some initial consideration regarding data, methodology, and a general description of the Danish refugee solidarity movement in chapters 2 to 5.

At the heart of the movement's collective identity (Melucci 1989, 1995), analyzed in chapter 5, is the responsibility for the refugees and much of the internal conflict in the movement concerns how the refugees are dealt with. In essence, the preservation of the life and dignity of the refugees is the end, and refugees should never be the means to some other end. Indeed, the movement's opponents are critiqued basically for not treating the refugees as human beings with a non-negotiable right to life and dignity. Instead, refugees are seen as being treated like things that can be sacrificed for political ends, or reified as bureaucratic entities handled no differently than some material thing. This implies an important element of ethical responsibility at the heart of the movement's activities. If someone in the movement is seen as not handling that responsibility in a proper manner, that is, acting in the best interest of the refugee, it is a source of internal conflict. Such conflicts are also at the heart of the variation in scene styles where some, at one extreme, do not view the matter as political in any way. Their activity with refugees is purely humanitarian and does not imply any critique of the political institutions. At the other extreme, the refugees are viewed as the consequence of an inhuman political system, implying that the salvation of the refugees relies on implementing fundamental political changes. However, across differences, the different factions still identify with each other and share some solidarity due to their shared commitment to helping the single refugees with whose fate they have become entangled.

This shared experience of an ethical responsibility, which is at the heart of the movement and why in this dissertation it is identified as the refugee *solidarity* movement, is scrutinized in chapter 6. More precisely, in this chapter it is argued that ethical drivers identified in the authorship of Knud Ejler Løgstrup (1997, 2007) has hitherto been either overlooked in the literature on social movements or wrongly specified as moral shocks due to an emotional reaction rooted in cultural representations (Jasper 2008; Jasper and Poulsen 1995). In contrast, it is argued that in any relationship an ethical demand to care for the other exists. This demand to care for the other can be understood as parallel to what Goffman terms the moral obligation of the interaction order (Rawls 1987). In any relationship or interaction, given a bond of sympathy, a small "us" may emerge. The point is that the ethical demand is of social origin but, as the interaction order, it exists at a level prior to what we identify with society. Thus, it operates in relative autonomy in relation to the societal factors of institutions, norms, culture, values, and conventions. However, it gets its form from these societal factors. In other words, how you care for the other depends on your cultural resources. What is significant about the ethical demand to the study of activism and social movement is that it may be helpful in explaining why people in an apparently spontaneous way sometimes act to aid others as, for instance, in the case of civil disobedience, despite such acts entailing significant costs and risks (McAdam 1986). In addition, it may explain why it is not always through the ordinary process of gradual socialization of an activist identity that people get engaged in high-risk activism, and why sometimes embeddedness in activist networks is not always a precondition.

The finding of the importance of ethical drivers informs chapter 7 which attempts to integrate three different lines of theory on activist recruitment. The first line of theory focuses on the importance of network (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam and Paulsen 1993), socialization (Della Porta 1988; Klandermans *et al.* 2002), and biographical availability (Bruni 2013; Schussman and Soule 2005). The second is pre-occupied with the impact of emotions (Goodwin *et al.* 2004, 2009), and the third concerns predisposition in the form of values (Deth and Scarbrough 1995a; Inglehart 1977). It is the third line that relates to the ethical drivers identified in chapter 6. This connection relies on the fact that our basic view of life, which can be said to correspond to Schwartz concept of basic human values (Davidov *et al.* 2008b; Schwartz 1992), is an important mediator of our inclination to act ethically. The statistical analyses show that basic human values indeed influence our propensity to engage in activism as expected from the theory of Løgstrup. Furthermore, it reveals that factors related to network and socialization as well as emotions are important in explaining differential activist recruitment. Furthermore, variables operationalized as belonging to different lines of theory

interact in significant ways suggesting that the three lines of theory that to some extent have been viewed as competing would gain from a systematic theoretical integration. Finally, it also shows that recruitment to low- and high-risk activism are influenced by different factors, but that the overall finding with regard to high-risk activism is in line with the theoretical expectations (McAdam 1986; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991).

The analysis in chapter 8 contributes by showing the usefulness to supplement the well-established concepts of framing (Snow *et al.* 1986; Snow and Benford 1988) and social network (e.g. McAdam 1986; Passy 2001; Snow *et al.* 1980) with the relatively new concept of group styles (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003; Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014). These concepts all concern the meso level of analysis constituted by the group. Network analysis is concerned with dyadic relationships and their structure in the aggregate and not the group as a context of interaction and tends to black-box the content of the network ties. In contrast, group style concerns the stabilized patterns of interaction in the group and how they form an order of interaction that has relative autonomous effects on differential recruitment. Processes of frame alignment also deviate from this perspective because here the group is viewed as a collective actor, and the internal processes are paid no attention. We undertake several statistical tests that show that the contentiousness of the group styles identified in patterns of online interaction recorded in Facebook groups indeed has significant effects on the individual's participation in political protest. The effect tends to be more robust and stronger than the effect of the measures of the group's frames and the individual's network embeddedness.

From chapters 6, 7, and 8 having been focused on differential recruitment, chapter 9 concerns the outcome of movement activism. This shift also entails connecting the small "us" concerning the ethical relationships and actions carried out in correspondence with certain values with the bigger "us" concerned with society's political institutions and the values and principles underpinning them. In this chapter, it is demonstrated that a likely outcome in the aggregate of activists is a loss of trust in the political institutions of Parliament, the legal system, and the police. This is in stark contrast to the literature on institutional trust which assumes the opposite relationship, namely that low institutional trust leads to activism (Ejrnæs 2016; Hooghe and Marien 2013; Kaase 1999). It is furthermore argued that the loss of trust is a consequence of interaction with institutional actors who do not adhere to the values and principles to which the activists expect them to adhere. These values and principles are in broad terms those we associate with modern democracy (Habermas 1996). They include impartiality and neutrality on behalf of the civil servants of the order institutions of the legal system and the police (Creutzfeldt and Bradford 2016; Nix *et al.* 2015; Tyler 2003), and

high political efficacy (Craig *et al.* 1990; Pollock 1983) with regard to the partisan institution of parliament (Rothstein and Stolle 2008), implying access to dialogue with the politicians. In addition to losing trust, a consequence of experiencing that basic principles of law do not apply to refugees is that the activists not only consider it legitimate to commit civil disobedience, they also express that they are obligated to resist what they view as corrupted institutions. This change of view gains further significance when we consider that the average activist in the movement has a significantly higher level of civic engagement and support for democratic values than the general Danish population. Thus, a further outcome is that middle-class citizens with a high engagement in civil society, vital to the legitimacy of democracy, from a participatory mode change their role in civil society to be one of opposition and resistance to the political institutions of democracy they view as corrupted (Tocqueville 2004). In this sense, this chapter also demonstrates, that mobilization in opposition to the state also happens at the opposite position of the much debated nationalist mobilization in the Western democracies which should be taken into consideration in relation to the asserted crisis of Western democracy (Celikates *et al.* 2015; Kriesi 2012, 2014).

In the final chapter 10, the results are summarized and their implications for our understanding of differential recruitment and movement activism's consequences for the wider society are discussed. In addition, the chapter considers some research questions and perspectives derived from the findings that suggest promising perspectives for future research as well as the need for testing the generalizability of the findings which, after all, are made in relation to only one specific case.

The reader will be spared a literature review in the introductory parts of the dissertation. Instead, relevant literature is considered in the separate analyses. In the following chapters, focus will be on providing background on the empirical foundation of the dissertation and, in particular, the movement itself which is the primary continuity throughout the analyses.

In chapters 2 and 3, data and methods will be introduced and discussed. Several sources of data have been collected and introduced in different ways and sometimes in mixed-methods research designs. Thus, a thorough understanding of data will benefit the reader a great deal, especially regarding assessing the scientific quality of the subsequent analyses. Of course, relevant aspects relating to data and methods are discussed in relation to the different analyses. Chapter 4 concerns the historical background. Here, the development of the movement in relation to the political opportunity structure is analyzed. It is argued that rather than opportunity, the movement mobilizes under threat, and at the emotional level, it is driven not as much by hope as it is by

fear. Finally, it discusses the recent mobilization in the summer and fall of 2015 across Europe which in Denmark took a turn as it intersected with the diffusion of a new cohort of movement activists, namely the *Friendly People*, who, although puzzling given the heated political debate around the refugee issue, frames their activity as purely humanitarian or "friendly" and in an absolute sense, non-contentious. An exhaustive analysis of this is not provided, only some tentative suggestions. Chapter 5 provides general background on the movement, such as what the main social movement organizations (SMO) are, the variation in the movement population, as well as repertoire, and finally, the collective identity of the movement. Having provided the reader with extensive background knowledge of the movement and the empirical and methodological foundation of the dissertation, chapters 6 to 9 contain the four major analyses outlined above. In chapter 10, the overall conclusions are presented.

2. Data collection

This dissertation has its foundation in an original empirical material consisting of several components: 1) 42 qualitative interviews with as many activists. 2) an online survey of activists including items comparable with items in the survey programs of the European Social Survey (ESS) and International Social Survey Program (ISSP), and 3) data on social media activity in the Facebook forums associated with the movement which on individual and group levels can be linked to the data from the online survey. Also, information on background and history of the movement from secondary sources has been used.

The way the data collection proceeded was not part of some grand, carefully planned research design. In fact, when the project started in the summer of 2013, the qualitative interviews collected during spring 2014 were supposed to be the only data source, even though from the outset I was looking out for possibilities for surveying the movement. However, as things developed, especially in the fall of 2015 when a major mobilization took place, new opportunities for data collection emerged as the entire movement went online and a population that could be surveyed suddenly presented itself. Furthermore, Facebook, being a vehicle of mobilization and a site of interaction, took center stage in the movement infrastructure, adding a new and unforeseen dimension to the dissertation. Also, the mobilization affected a transformation of the movement from consisting predominantly of Danes from the majority culture to also encompassing Danes from the minority cultures including immigrants and individuals with a family history of integration in Denmark. Thus, the movement population that I tried to sample changed dramatically during the project.

This was a challenge but also—and in my view to a much greater extend—an opportunity. That the movement within the four-year span of this project evolved from a historic low to a historic peak in activity and membership, not only in Denmark but across Europe, I can only consider a stroke of luck as it presented unique opportunities for conducting research. However, it did impact the data collection and changed the project in a fundamental way. In what follows, I shall seek to clarify the content of the different data-sources as well as how they are interlinked, as this is only briefly touched upon in the subsequent analyses.

An issue of particular importance which, from the very beginning, structured the data-collection has to do with research ethical considerations related to the fact that the dissertation is about people who may have committed potentially unlawful acts of civil disobedience in order to help refugees. Exposure may get them—and the asylum-

seekers they may have helped—in serious trouble. How this has been handled and its consequences for data receives special attention in the following.

Interviews

Keeping to the chronology of the data collection, first the qualitative interviews are considered, which also make up the empirical backbone of the dissertation. Below, focus is on access to informants and how data were collected.

During spring and summer of 2014, I conducted 42 qualitative interviews with 42 activists.[1] To help refugees go underground, which is illegal and punishable by prison in Denmark, is part of the movement's repertoire, and it was, from the beginning, a goal to interview persons who had been involved in such acts of civil disobedience, but not only them, as all kinds of activism were of interest. However, assuming that such high-risk and high-cost activism was relatively rare and that persons so engaged were more difficult to get to participate in an interview, special attention was paid to recruiting such interview persons.

To get in touch with activists in the movement, some access points to the movement were identified. Some were NGOs or groups that could be identified on the Internet and thus could be contacted directly. Others were individual persons who had come forward in the public debate and told about their involvement with refugees of legal as well as illegal status. Finally, through my personal network, I knew people with a history of activity in the movement. This handful of access points were recruited as both interview persons and as gatekeepers. To ensure the anonymity of the additional interview persons, a specific procedure of recruitment was devised. This was done to avoid involuntary disclosure by the gatekeepers. It would be ethically problematic if details regarding a person's involvement in activities which the person wished to keep secret were disclosed to me against their will. Furthermore, if such actions could give rise to conflict and controversy between gatekeepers and activists who felt the disclosure was a violation of their privacy, my research project would have been a catalyst to processes harmful to the relationships of the movement members and thereby my object of study.

To avoid such research ethical pitfalls, the method of recruitment became somewhat cumbersome. In practice, recruitment was carried out by asking a number the gatekeepers to circulate a letter of invitation in their network within the movement. The letter explained the purpose of my research project, the details regarding confiden-

[1] In total, 65.5 hours of interviews were recorded. The shortest was 23 minutes, the longest two hours and 28 minutes. On average, the interviews lasted a little more than 1½ hours.

tiality and so forth, and how to contact me if interested in participating[2]. When an interview was carried out, the interview person often was recruited as a gatekeeper, meaning she or he was asked to circulate the letter in her or his network.

Such a procedure of "blind"[3] snowball sampling (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981) implies a massive loss of control by the researcher over the process of recruitment. In most cases, however, the interviewee would, in anonymized form, tell me about other movement members she or he had in mind, which provided me an opportunity to make sure that no one was not contacted due to the gatekeepers misunderstanding what kind of activists I was interested in. In this way, unwanted deselection of potential interviewees in the network of the gatekeepers was countered, thus ensuring as broad a scope of recruitment as possible.

However, it cannot be denied that the strength, as well as the weakness, of snowball sampling is its embeddedness in certain social networks about which one potentially develops an intimate knowledge (Noy 2008) but which also limit the researcher's perspective and excludes those beyond the network's reach (Browne 2005). In this regard, the selection of the initial gatekeepers provided me with an opportunity to influence the recruitment process. The gatekeepers were intentionally chosen and sought out to get a varied selection of initial access points into different networks to counter the fallacy of exclusion. Thus, maximal heterogeneity was the objective rather than a representative sample; also assessing representativeness would not be possible as no data on the entire movement population exists. For these reasons, I have no reason to believe my set of interviews should be representative in a proportional sense, but on the other hand, I have good reasons to believe that the distinctive types of activists are represented.

The interviews were carried out preferably in the interviewee's home or another place of the interviewee's choosing. The site should be a place in which the interviewee felt comfortable in order to ensure a feeling of safety that would allow for a more open

[2] See appendix 2.1 for the letter (in Danish). This letter was carefully crafted and initial drafts were read by pilots and subsequently revised in order to avoid misunderstandings like potential interview persons of relevance regarding themselves as irrelevant or making an impression that the project was amateurish or that the promised anonymity and confidentiality could not be trusted. On the other hand, the risk should not be exaggerated and unnecessary worries should not be generated. The letter was even revised to a minor degree during the data-collection and at one point two versions existed: one targeting traditional left-wing activists, and the other targeting active members of the movement with no significant history of prior activism. Furthermore, the letter also articulated potential interests in participation on behalf of the activists, namely that participation is a possibility to get a voice, especially concerning civil disobedience in the form of helping asylum-seekers in going underground, which one hardly can go public with without also putting the refugee(s) concerned at risk. On the other hand, such framing could affect what would be said during the interview, so the words were carefully chosen and this matter was not mentioned until the end of the letter. Such framing effects also were paid attention to during the interviews and the process of interpretation. However, it turned out that it was not a problem, and if there were such effects, they were negligible.

[3] In the sense that I am "blind" to who received the letter of invitation.

approach on their part. In general, it was important to make the interview situation as safe a space as possible because we were going to talk about well-kept secrets on the interviewee's part from the very outset over a few hours and after meeting in person for the first time. To create a relaxed atmosphere promoting a feeling of mutual trust, I would dress casually and, to the extent possible, tell some personal details about myself, thereby exposing myself a bit to demonstrate openness and my trust of them. Also, bringing up "small talk"—such as having children or the like—was deliberately pursued to establish mutual identification to help "break the ice."

Such an approach may sound strategic and even manipulative (Winsløw 1992), but I think it was not. First, in the letter of invitation (see appendix 2.1) the interviewees had been made aware of the overall themes we were going to discuss, including the topic of civil disobedience. Also, it was their choice whether to make themselves known to me, as I did not know who had received the letter of invitation. Thus, by contacting me they indicated their willingness to tell me about their experiences in relation to these sensitive issues. Furthermore, in the process of organizing the interview, we would discuss its content further. Thus, rather than being manipulative and strategic, such measures were a means to make the common activity of the interview successful. In fact, it was no different than when the interviewees often would serve coffee and biscuits or the like to make the meal a point of common reference and demonstrate hospitality toward me. Finally, the interviewees were, in general, resourceful (see table 2.1), often with higher education and large social networks, and far from socially vulnerable or the like. Thus, in the interview situation, if there was an asymmetrical balance of power, it was in favor of the interviewee who possessed the knowledge and experiences that we were going to discuss and whom I was in no position to sanction or otherwise force to participate.

The interviews were semi-structured going toward unstructured. This implies that I had prepared an interview guide with questions organized around different themes relating to central problems and concepts.[4] However, except for the introduction and obtaining recorded consent to the terms and conditions of the interview (Roberts and Indermauer 2003), it was only rarely the case that the interview guide was followed in detail, and the interviews would largely be formed by what the interviewee brought up and found significant. Rather than a structure, the interview guide functioned as a checklist used to ensure that something central had not been skipped. However, sometimes it would be laid aside and the interview would follow another path dictated by the experiences of the interviewee. Furthermore, during the period of interviewing, I revised the interview guide as new themes came up. For instance, the concept of the

[4] See the interview guide in appendix 2.2.

ethical demand (Løgstrup 1997), to which chapter 6 is dedicated, was added to the interview guide only during the process as I became aware of the usefulness of this concept of the compelling duty to help that was emerging in relationship to the refugees. The practice of having the concepts and problems listed was both to remind me of the theoretical background for my queries and to make myself aware of my preunderstanding during the interviews. Thus, when something came up that I could not capture immediately, I would glance over the interview guide's list of concepts and problems and then realize that I did not understand and therefore inquire further, rather than following my immediate impulse, namely to dismiss it as redundant.

Table 2.1. Characteristics of sample of interview-persons

Age (years, S.D.)	55.3	17.7
Gender (n, percent)		
Female	21	50 %
Male	21	50 %
Education (n, percent)		
Elementary school	0	0 %
High school	1	3 %
Vocational training	2	7 %
Short and medium cycle higher education	5	17 %
Long cycle higher education	22	73 %
Monthly income before tax (Mean, S.D.)	DKK 29,663	DKK 26,028
Mother's education at IP age 14 (n, percent)		
Elementary school	12	40 %
High school	1	3 %
Vocational training	3	10 %
Short and medium cycle higher education	5	17 %
Long cycle higher education	9	30 %
Father's education at IP age 14 (n, percent)		
Elementary school	7	23 %
High school	0	0 %
Vocational training	4	13 %
Short and medium cycle higher education	7	23 %
Long cycle higher education	12	40 %
Political scale 0 (left) to 10 (right) (mean, S.D.)	2.1	1.8

Note: Information is collected by asking IP to fill out a short questionnaire. Only 30 out of 42 IPs filled it in due to negligence on my part. However, from what was revealed during the interviews, it is quite evident that the missing IPs do not deviate significantly.

In what follows, to protect the information and knowledge that the interviewees shared with me, they are anonymized and their identities are obscured. These measures are taken to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees and those they have

helped in legal and, in some cases, potentially illegal ways.[5] The measures taken imply that interviewees are not mentioned by name, and characteristics such as gender, age, occupation, area of residence and other personal details may have been changed. If deemed necessary, details in their narrative, such as place, time, names of organizations and other persons have been left out or changed, but also stylistic alterations have been made to ensure anonymity.

In Table 2.1, the sample of interview-persons is summarized by various key indicators. It reveals that the interview persons in general belong to the upper-middle-class, also with regard to family background. As shall be shown in chapter 5, this seems to be a general characteristic of the movement. Also, the left-leaning political views are not unusual. The one-to-one-gender distribution, however, is quite biased compared to estimates based on survey and Facebook data suggesting a woman-to-man ratio of three to one .

I mentioned above that the interviews covered the distinctive types of activist, and this was true at the time of the interviewing. However, since my data-collection in 2014, a major development unfolded, namely what I refer to as the September Mobilization in 2015 which will be dealt with later. This mobilization involved the rise of two new kinds of activists that are not directly represented in the interviews. First, immigrants, refugees, and descendants became a significant part of the movement. Hitherto, the minority cultures had mainly been active in separate networks, with some notable exceptions. However, as part of the seemingly spontaneous mobilization that took place in September and the rise of the movement faction the Friendly People (Danish: Venligboerne) that started in early 2015[6], activists with a background in the minority cultures became much more numerous in the movement. The network of immigrants were deliberately bypassed when I collected my interviews based on the assumption (corroborated by what those I knew in the movement told me and confirmed in my interviews) that their relations typically were of another character in the sense that they often would help refugees to whom they were related by family or mutual acquaintances or something similar. However, this changed dramatically during the September Mobilization and, if time had allowed, ideally additional interviews should have been carried out.

[5] The interviews were dual recorded and encrypted and stored on the servers of the University of Copenhagen as well as backup copies stored elsewhere. The interviews began by explaining the purpose of the interview, including the themes of interview and the intended use of the data, procedures of anonymization and the principle of researcher confidentiality implying that the interviews in de-anonymized form are not disclosed to anyone else than me. Then, the interviewees were asked to give their consent. During the interview, if deemed necessary, I would remind the interviewee of these issues and renew consent (Roberts and Indermauer 2003).

[6] The details of the September Mobilization and The Friendly People are considered in detail in chapter 4.

The other subpopulation of activists that are not included in the interview sample are the aforementioned Friendly People. They distinguish themselves by a strictly non-contentious, anti-political, and humanitarian framing, which is dealt with in detail in chapters 4 and 5. This movement emerged during the spring of 2015. However, not having included a designated member of the Friendly People is not as problematic as the omission of activists with a personal story of immigration because, among the interview persons, several have a motivational structure and are involved in activities comparable to what characterize the Friendly People according to the information available from social media (The Friendly People utilize Facebook as their primary organizing site), the extensive media coverage (e.g., Bernsen 2015; Kamil 2015; Larsen 2015; Søndergaard 2016), as well as a recently published book about the movement (Grøndahl 2017).

These omissions from the interview sample do not mean that these two subpopulations are not included in the empirical analyses of this dissertation. Instead, they have been covered by the online survey that instead of additional interviews were chosen as the way to take advantage of the data-collection opportunity afforded by the September Mobilization.

Online survey

I had hardly arrived for my research visit at the University of California, Berkeley, with Professor Irene Bloemraad and the Immigration Workshop in the Department of Sociology before events at home took a dramatic turn. In early September 2015, refugees in large numbers crossed the Danish borders in a highly unregulated manner and walked the Danish freeways on their way to their destinations elsewhere in Scandinavia resulting in massive TV coverage of the dramatic events. It immediately triggered a massive mobilization of refugee solidarity encompassing citizens picking up refugees and driving them to Sweden and thereby making themselves vulnerable to charges of trafficking. Not prepared to take a flight back home to do fieldwork, I started pondering how to take advantage of this new development in my research project.

As I witnessed events unfold in the various Facebook groups where citizens discussed, organized, and planned how to take care of the refugees and thereby became activists, I experienced a moment of eureka: What I witnessed was not just an historical mobilization—the largest in the history of the movement—but also an entire movement going online and making the social media of Facebook not just a tool for mobilization and recruitment but the intrinsic principle of organization and coordination in the movement. More importantly, to the best of my knowledge, almost every corner of the movement had either formed their own groups online or had joined existing groups. Even though the population is unknown, my sense is that the vast majority

drawn from all networks and factions of the movement were part of the Facebook-population which made surveying the movement possible.

The survey was carried out in collaboration with my supervisor, Emeritus Professor Peter Gundelach, who is one of the principal authorities on survey methodology in Scandinavian sociology (Gundelach 2017; Gundelach and Kropp 2014; Frederiksen et al. 2017). Also, Oscar Enghoff was an indispensable help in programming the survey using Lime Survey. The survey addresses research questions that emerged in the qualitative interviews which thus informed the questionnaire significantly to the level of the phrasing of the questions. The questionnaire[7] focuses on mechanisms and processes of recruitment, values, emotions and motives, activities in the movement, and outcomes in the form of changes in institutional trust. Also, it asks general questions concerning socio-economic, socio-cultural, political, and religious attitudes, socio-geographical, biographical, and individual characteristics. Several of the questions are replications of questions in the ESS 2014 and ISSP 2014 questionnaires which enable comparison with representative samples of the general Danish population.

Links to the survey were distributed in all the relevant Facebook forums (pages and groups) that had been identified from a keyword search[8]. The purpose of the survey was explained to the forum administrators and their permission was solicited to post the survey. In almost all cases, permission was granted. If the administrator had not declined our request after receiving two reminders (the second request stipulated that now we were going to distribute the survey in the group unless we received a negative answer) the link was posted with an introductory text.[9] Of 310 identified Facebook forums, 16 turned out to be either inactive, closed down before the survey was distributed, or not accessible (often due to inactivity). Of the remaining 294, 146 gave permission, seven declined, and 141 never replied. Out of potentially 310 forums, the survey link was posted in 287 or 92.6%.

The survey was visited 16,092 times. The questionnaire were completed 2,310 times, to the extent that at least 48 out of 51 question pages had been viewed. However, in 14 cases, the entries were left blank and seven were duplicate cases. These 21 cases were discarded leaving us with a final count of 2,289 valid cases. However, the

[7] The questionnaire (in Danish) can be visited in appendix 2.3.

[8] Keywords: *refugee* (flygtning), *asylum* (asyl), *racism* (racism), *foreigner* (udlænding), *Venligbo* (the Danish nomination for a large and new social movement which has kindness towards refugees and others in need as its central goal), *friends of refugees* (flygtningevenner), *intercultural* (interkulturel), *the Red Cross* (Røde Kors), *the Red Cross Youth* (Røde Kors Ungdom), *the Danish Refugee Council* (Dansk Flygtningehjælp), *DFUNK* (the Danish Refugee Council's youth organization), *Frivillignet* (the Danish Refugee Council volunteer organizations), *Save The Children* (Red Barnet), *Save The Children Youth* (Red Barnet Ungdom), and *Amnesty International*.

[9] See appendix 2.4 for the introductory text (in Danish).

phenomenon of Internet trolls may also affect surveys. A few suspicious cases were identified, but it was not clear whether it was a troll or someone with an unusual and unlikely combination of answers. Also, some expressed immigration-critical or anti-Muslim views in relation to various survey items, but had been involved in activity with refugees. However, we are talking about fewer than 10 entries, and in general, they were filtered out in the analyses due to missing on other variables. Thus, due to the uncertainty about whether it was truly trolls giving manipulative answers they were not erased, also because the numbers were so small and their high rate of missing responses resulted in most of them being filtered out anyway. Finally, the phenomenon of people with otherwise xenophobic attitudes helping out a particular refugee or immigrant they know personally is known in the movement.

The links to the survey posted on Facebook were unique to the forum they were posted in, enabling automatic detection of from which forum the respondent accessed the questionnaire. This information was used to link the respondents to Facebook forums of primary association. To validate this information, the respondents were asked if this was indeed the primary forum for the respondent's activity and, if not, they were given the opportunity to choose an alternative forum-affiliation from a drop-down menu or enter it in free-text. This provides the opportunity to add a Facebook group level to the individual records in the survey which is exploited in the analyses of the effect of group interaction on individual activity in chapter 8. Also, by implementing an Facebook app in the survey, the respondents were asked to give permission for us to link their personal Facebook profile and activity to the survey answers. This implied giving up anonymity as we, the researches, would then get to know their identity, but confidentiality was still in effect as the information was provided on the condition that in any presentation of data the individual could not be identified. Such permission was given in 578 cases.

Social media data from Facebook

As part of the online survey, we acquired the assistance of Snorre Ralund, who is also co-author of chapter 8, to collect data from the Facebook forums that were surveyed. This has resulted in a comprehensive dataset that includes all online interaction in the forums. Such a panel data in extreme detail provides unique possibilities for studies of online behavior, which we hope to continue in the future beyond the analyses of chapter 8. However, such datasets—which enable mapping the actions of the individuals online in detail—are subject to research ethical considerations. First, the data are stored on secure, encrypted servers provided by the University of Copenhagen, as is all data used in this project. Second, in the process of collection and storing, data entries are anonymized. Third, analytical results are published only in aggregate form in which

individual behavior is not detectable, and the identities of the profiles are never revealed or identifiable.

Still, the individuals active in the forums have not been asked for permission and have not had any opportunity to opt out. However, even though preferable from an ethical standpoint, such procedures would in practice be quite impossible to devise, which is recognized in the literature (Merriman 2014), and it would also jeopardize the basic idea of collecting such data as missing individuals may invalidate such relational datasets entirely. These issues are discussed in relation to the rise of research on social media websites (Henderson *et al.* 2013; Moreno *et al.* 2013). The guiding principle is to avoid any risk of individual or groups of persons getting in harm's way, even though obtaining consent or at least providing an option for opting out is ideal. In addition to the above-mentioned measures taken to ensure this, it also entails that when actual interaction in discussions in these groups take place, they have been obscured and altered stylistic in order to anonymize those involved, even though the examples of interaction are from public groups, meaning that the interaction is visible to anyone on Facebook (Zimmer 2010). Still, as nothing analytical is lost by taking these measures, this is the preferred solution to avoid experiences of abuse on the part of the Facebook users.

The survey data's linkage to Facebook activity provides some unique possibilities for investigating what role social media play in contemporary collective action and mobilization which, for good reasons, is one of the major topics of discussion in the field (Hale *et al.* 2016; Harlow 2012; Juris 2012; Obar *et al.* 2012; Tarrow 2011; Tufekci and Wilson 2012). By being able to link patterns of behavior online with self-reported entries regarding activity and recruitment in the survey, we hope to be able to contribute to some of the major questions regarding whether social media in a qualitative sense change how the collective action unfolds or whether its effect mainly is to speed things up, so to say, by effecting rapid diffusion of information, which to some extent avoids government control to a degree not possible in the old media. However, these opportunities are exploited only to a minor degree in this dissertation (see chapter 8) and await future research as do many of the other items in the survey.

3. Analytical methods

Having explained and discussed the data-collection process and the research ethical dimension, in this chapter, focus is on the analytical methods. They are considered at a general level, as they are also discussed in relation to the single research questions throughout the dissertation. As two out of four empirical analyses are performed within a mixed-methods research design, it seems here to be beneficial to discuss the methods in relation to the single bodies of data outlined above as opposed to in relation to the single research problem which is done in the individual analyses.

Expert-, life history-, and phenomenological interviews

The interviews were a combination of expert interviews, life history interviews, and phenomenological descriptions of key events and activities. Sometimes, only one of the approaches were in play, and sometimes all three were part of the same interview. In some cases, more interviews were conducted with the same person to cover all the relevant observations and experiences, and in a few cases, it was a group interview with more members of the same family.

Several of the interview persons had substantial knowledge of the movement or parts of it. This could be knowledge of its history and background as well as knowledge of its current configuration and the relationships between groups and individuals. Such insights were valuable as, to a large extent, it is the only way to get to know the movement, which, as is often the case, hardly ever describes itself. Activists are, after all, busy fighting perceived injustices, and there is rarely time for recording movement history. Also, by comparing the information from different sources, a fairly reliable picture of the movement emerged, which is drawn on in the subsequent chapters on the movement's characteristics and history.

Life history interviews focusing on bringing together the subjective perceptions with the objective circumstances of the history of the individual (Bourdieu *et al.* 1999; Callewaert 2007a, 2007b; Goodson and Adair 2007; Weber 1999) were an important part of the original research setup, which focused on the origin of the values, beliefs, and attitudes underpinning the engagement and their relation to wider social settings like family, institutions, generation, neighborhood, and so on. However, they are not fully exploited in the subsequent analyses where they mainly play an indirect role in providing a deep understanding of what lies behind the experiences detailed in the analyses. Thus, if the activities and significant events that are described and analyzed in the following are the tip of the iceberg, the information from the life-history interviews are the remaining 90% of the iceberg providing the researcher with detailed knowledge

of contextual and biographical background that provides the author with confidence in the interpretations which hopefully shines through in the text.

The phenomenological approach (in this context implying a focus on description of the events they had been involved in rather than directly inquiring into the causes and reasons for their actions (Giorgi and Giorgi 2008; Moustakas 1994; Spinelli 2005) rather than an epistemology) was chosen as my intention was to get as close as possible to the thoughts, feelings, deliberations, and whatever else that influenced them in the moment of making crucial choices and during significant events and actions. This approach aimed at separating the causes of why they acted as they did from the justifications of the actions. Why we do something and how we afterward justify the action and its consequences may, after all, differ significantly. This distinction becomes especially important when we deal with acts of civil disobedience which is present in several of the interviews and plays a crucial role in the subsequent analyses.

Due to their controversial nature, acts of civil disobedience are highly in need of justification—both to the individual actor and spectators (Boltanski 1999; Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). This became a challenge as it sometimes—but not always—could be a bit difficult to get detailed descriptions of what actually happened, because the interviewee was more inclined to justify the civil disobedience and explain why it was legitimate. In several cases, it turned out, that my interview was the first time the interviewee was asked simply to describe the events in detail, and not justify them. This was challenging for some interviewees, and as we shall see in the subsequent analyses, often they had a hard time finding words to describe and explain what had happened, which turned out to be a significant finding in itself (see chapter 6). The phenomenological approach focusing on what and how was my methodological tool to keep the focus on what had actually happened rather than discussing by what right they did it. Of course, the justification is also important, and was also part of the interviews, but is not what is under scrutiny in this dissertation which, instead, focuses on one component among many which help to explain engagement in activism.

However, this does not mean that moral justification in the sense of a rationalization and interpretation of what happened in the moment of action is just an afterthought without consequence. On the contrary, the moral justification of prior actions may spur a reconsideration of the values, moral standards, and principles one seeks to live by as well as these values', moral standards', and principles' bearing on society in general and on certain politics and institutions. Hence, justification may involve reconsidering one's place and role in society as well as one's perception of society, and new private normative expectations of one's future conduct may arise. It follows from this that such a reorientation of life conduct in the Weberian sense—stressing the ethical

dimension of our way of life (Heidegren *et al.* 2007)—may result in political action aimed at bringing the order of society into accordance with the interpretation of the experienced truth in the moment of action, that is, political action that seeks to remedy the perceived conditions that were the cause for the actions in which one was involved. Such a dialectic becomes central to the analyses of the consequences of being involved in contentious activism in the analyses of loss of trust in political institutions as an outcome of movement activity in chapter 9.

The coding strategy is somewhat unorthodox in the sense that I did not transcribe the interview apart from what is quoted throughout the dissertation. The massive amount of time saved was partly reinvested in listening carefully to the interviews and coding them in two different ways using the NVIVO software. The coding procedure was first to listen to the interview in its full length and write a two- to three-page summary focused on capturing the narratives. The second step was to listen to the interview again, coding the bits of the conversation. This allowed for, on the one hand, analyses of the narratives, which were particularly useful when focusing on life histories and single events or processes, and on the other hand, cross-sectional analyses focusing on all the accounts across the interviews concerning a particular topic. Finally, for me, having previously worked with transcription and subsequent analysis of interviews in text form, listening to the interviews had significant benefits. It quickly took me back to the interview situation, and listening to the intonation of questions gave clues about framing that would have been hard to capture in a transcript. It was the same for the answers. Thus, the co-productive moment of the interview and its consequences for the interpretation of the statements and accounts were easily accessible. Also, having listened to the interviews from a to z at least twice and often more equipped me with an intimate understanding of the empirical material.

The coding scheme was the result of an abductive process. First, some codes were defined based on the guiding questions and concepts of the interview guide (cf. appendix 2.2). As mentioned, the interview guide had been enhanced along the way and therefore contained in a condensed form what I had found to be important problems to begin with and what had emerged as new issues during the collection of interviews. These primarily deductively derived codes made up the level-1 codes. Second, some sub-codes, at level 2 and 3, but also some new level-1 codes, were defined in the coding process in an inductive manner.

Other methods

Standard linear and logistic regression analyses are used in two different ways: 1) to compare the movement sample with a sample of the Danish population and exploiting the replicated questions from ESS and ISSP as explained above and 2) analyzing varia-

ble relationship within the movement sample. This implies that the models should be viewed as either purely descriptive comparisons of certain characteristics in the samples or as testing a specific focal variable relationship. This approach is taken in response to a major reservation regarding what the data can be used for. Because the population of the movement is unknown, there is no way to determine with certainty whether the sample is representative. Thus, when it comes to the question of small proportional variations within the movement, the sample is not very useful. However, the sample is most likely useful to assess very general characteristics which will be done in chapter 5.

However, when it comes to variable relationships and telling patterns, things are different because I am quite certain—based on my extensive qualitative studies including interviews and informal field studies as well as background research surveying all the written accounts I have been able to detect (books, homepages, newspaper articles, and the like)—that the sample includes an exhaustive selection of movement members in the sense that the respondents' variation with regard to background, organization, network, beliefs, attitudes, and activities covers the full range of the movement. Thus, given the inclusion of comprehensive controls, the estimated relationship between variables is likely to be trustworthy and the same with regard to the comparison with the general population. Therefore, when presenting figures comparing the movement sample and the population sample in a descriptive way, they are accompanied by test statistics that should be taken into account when interpreting the descriptively observed differences.

In chapter 7 we use a statistical analytical tool called DIGRAM (Discrete Graphical Models) developed by Svend Kreiner (1986, 1987, 1996, 2003). DIGRAM is not very widely used, which probably is due to it not being implemented in any of the major statistical data packages such as, for example, STATA or R. Nonetheless, it offers unique opportunities for modelling advanced social processes within the principles of categorical data analyses (Aneshensel 2013; Gundelach 2013; Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg 1955) and graph theory and present the results in a rather intuitive and transparent way. Because data is treated as categorical—nominal or ordinal—and the statistical probability tests employed are χ^2 and γ testing, which makes assumptions about distribution obsolete; interpretation of the results requires only a basic statistical knowledge. However, the fact that the categorical variables from the survey are treated as such and no assumptions about distribution are imposed on data is also a major advantage.

Critical inspection and interpretation of the results are made easy because using DIGRAM implies that the researcher must be explicit about the theoretical assumed relationship between the variables that structure the specification of the model in a recur-

sive block structure. To specify the model as a recursive block structure means that variables can be both dependent and independent as several levels of variables can be specified in the model. This also implies that the model, by default, takes all interaction effects into account, and symmetrical relationships between variables at the same level are estimated as well as the asymmetrical relations between variables at different levels. Thus, DIGRAM forces the researcher to carefully think through why a variable should be included and what its place in the model should be due to its assumed relationship to the other included variables.

This impetus to theoretical scrutiny in the process of specifying the models is further advanced by the fact that variables must be categorical. When treating data categorically, the researcher must take some theoretically informed decision when constructing the variables. In most social science and particularly sociology, treating variables as categorical makes good sense as we only rarely encounter variables that are truly continuous. For example, income, often treated as a continuous variable, when reflected upon cannot be said to be truly continuous. For instance, an increase in yearly income from say, €10,000 to €20,000 can hardly be said to have same social consequences as an increase in income from €100,000 to €110,000 despite the nominal increase being the same. To double one's income, as in the first case, will likely effect a much greater improvement of living conditions than a 10% increase as in the second case, which implies the categorical nature of the variable. Another example is age. The difference in development between a one- and a two-year-old cannot be compared to the difference being 42 and 43, for instance, despite the difference in age being the same, one year.

This is not to launch a methodological crusade, but simply to highlight the virtues of DIGRAM as an analytical method. Indeed, my approach to such questions is pragmatic, and in this dissertation several ordinal variables are treated as scales in regression analyses, so I am myself "guilty," and I fully recognize that for practical reasons it can make sense to specify variables as continuous. DIGRAM is indeed a demanding statistical tool for the reasons described above, and often it is more practical to use standard statistical tools like linear regression analyses because, depending on the research design, the gains from implementing DIGRAM may be quite limited. The major snag of DIGRAM is probably that it is not widely used and well-known by researchers, which may cause some uncertainty on the part of the reader (examples of internationally published studies using DIGRAM are Andersen *et al.* 2013; Gundelach 2010, 2014; Järvinen and Østergaard 2009). Thus, this dissertation hopefully contributes to changing this fact.

4. Historical background[10]

Having presented the empirical material and discussed some general issues of the analytical methods, the focus will for the remainder of the dissertation be on the social phenomenon of primary concern, namely the Danish refugee solidarity movement. In this and the following chapter, the movement is introduced by providing first an outline of its historical development and, second, a general description of the movement and its characteristics. These chapters describe the movement at a general level to acquaint the reader with some central features of the movement which will add a deeper understanding of the background against which the subsequent four major analyses are carried out. This chapter continues by considering the ideological foundation of the movement. It then turns to the historical dynamics that shape the movement's development and changes in its strategies and goals. Finally, it considers in some detail the recent mobilization of the movement in September 2015 that in many ways transformed the movement.

The origin of the movement's values

The movement's ideological foundation is to be found in the Modern that places the single human being at the center of the world stage and provides her with inalienable rights to life and dignity. No one saw this clearer than Durkheim, who asserted that the only possible religion of modern society was that of individualism where "man is at once the worshipper and the god" (Durkheim 1975: 46). This religion of individualism should not be confused with utilitarianism. Instead, it is rather an idealistic humanism that is "placed outside and above all temporal interests. There is no political reason which can excuse an attack upon the individual, when the rights of the individual are above those of the state" (Durkheim 1975: 46), which distinguishes it from utilitarianism that willingly would sacrifice the individual for the greater good. Furthermore, it is not worship of the self, a kind of self-love. Quite to the contrary. The sacredness of the person stems not from some personal property but simply from the person being part of humanity: "Individualism thus extended is the glorification not of the self but the individual in general. It springs not from egoism but from sympathy for all that is human, a broader pity for all sufferings, for all human miseries, a more ardent need to combat them and mitigate them, a greater thirst for justice."(Durkheim 1975: 49). What has preceded for Durkheim to conclude as he does with regard to the integrating religion of modern society, is, as also argued by Luc Boltanski (1999), that such emotions as compassion and pity for the unfortunate in the Modern era has become politi-

[10] Parts of the observations and arguments of this chapter have previously been presented in Toubøl (2015).

cal. What was previously compassion with a fellow creation of God, and as such a religious matter, in the Modern becomes political because a violation of the rights and dignity of any individual is a violation of the principle of all individuals having these rights because they partake in humanity (Durkheim 1975: 52ff). Therefore, Durkheim, in a rhetorical move, can exemplify the reality of this religious force by appealing to the reader's inner emotional life: "Whoever makes an attempt on a man's life, on a man's liberty, on a man's honor, inspires in us a feeling of horror, analogous in every way to that which the believer experiences when he sees his idol profaned."(Durkheim 1975: 46). The process leading to the individual member of humanity attaining a sacred status, Hans Joas (2013) argues, culminates in the international events after World War II where the single human individual becomes the alpha and omega of the modern political institutions. This sacralization of the person, as Joas denominates it, happens through a series of significant events such as the foundation of the UN system and the World Declaration of Human Rights whereby the value of the sacredness of the person with inalienable rights to dignity and life is generalized and become the fundamental value of Western societies. In this process, the antislavery movement plays a significant role by pushing for the transformation of the political logic in the direction of a more humanistic one (Joas 2013). Thus, while the antislavery movement was a predecessor of the refugee solidarity movement, the major difference is, that while the antislavery movement was in the offense, the refugee solidarity movement of today defends the value of the sacredness of the person that the two movements have in common.

The refugee is an important figure in this new value of the sacredness of the person and the political institutions and framework that emanate from it. When in 1948 the Declaration of Human Rights and soon after the Refugee Convention (in 1951) were put in place, it was in part a result of the realization that the very present horrors of WWII could be avoided in the future only if an external authority were in place to force the nation states to act out of compassion toward the unfortunate refugees instead of leaving them to their fate or dispose of them at will. The refugee who does not enjoy the rights of the citizens of the state she has fled to and as such is naked and unprotected in political and legal terms (Arendt 1996) becomes a living symbol of the new value and also, in a sense, a test: The ability of a society to treat the refugee in a way respecting her human rights demonstrates the extent to which a society is in agreement with the value of the sacred person.

However, the need for an external authority exposes that the value of the sacred person does not stand unchallenged. The modern nation state and its accompanying ideology of nationalism (Anderson 2006) becomes here the principal hierarchy of difference against which the principle of common humanity expressed in the sacredness

of the person must settle a compromise (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). It is in the fix point of the tension between these two most fundamental principles of the modern political framework that the refugee is placed: on the one hand, an unfortunate deserving our compassion and help simply by being recognized as a fellow human being and, on the other hand, a stranger posing a threat to the homogeneity and integrity of the nation.

In the refugee solidarity movement, there is no doubt that the principle of common humanity should prevail, and to most in the movement (but not all) this implies that compassion toward refugees is also a political matter that cannot be reduced to a matter of care for another person restricted to the situation. Thus, the present-day movement has its ideological origin in the sacralization of the person culminating in the post WWII years. That these events are significant is exemplified by the elder members of the movement's vivid recollection of how a new worldview manifested itself in the years after the war, a recollection that I encountered repeatedly in my interviews. It was this value in general and the human rights deceleration in particular that again and again were presented as the foundation of my interview persons' justification of their resistance and protest, as well as a motive. It is also striking that several of the interview persons who were old enough spoke about important stories in their childhood or stories passed on from their parents about involvement in the resistance movement during WWII. I take this to signify a strong identification with the fight for humanism against Nazism and fascism and a sense of duty to act against the authorities if they violate what is perceived to be fundamental principles and values of society.

The movement emerges: headwind from the outset

However, no organized movement came into place until decades later in the 1980s, but some significant events, nonetheless, took place in the meanwhile. In 1956, the major organization of the movement, the Danish Refugee Council, was founded in response to the need for an organized effort to take care of the refugees fleeing the Soviet Union's crushing of the uprising in Hungary. This was the first armed conflict in Europe after WWII, and the general show of solidarity and hospitality toward the Hungarian refugees in the Danish population in a way cemented the hegemonic status of the humanistic values. Denmark did not, in fact, have much regulation regarding refugees. In general, almost all who applied for it were granted asylum. However, there were exceptions. According to several of my interviews, during the Vietnam War, American soldiers stationed in Germany awaiting deployment deserted, and some fled to Denmark. The Danish Peace Movement sheltered them underground. Denmark, a member of NATO and ally of the United States was obligated to and, indeed, would turn them over. Another group were Trotskyites who were viewed as enemies by the Soviets due

to Stalin and Trotsky's rivalry and by the West because they were radical communists. International underground networks transported such left-wing partisans, also in Denmark.

These experiences prepared activists in the peace movement that soon would spill over into the new refugee solidarity movement. The event that can be said to mark the beginning of the movement's existence was the so-called Mexican Affair (Mexicanersagen) in 1977. It concerned a Mexican in Denmark who was accused of being a communist spy. He was expelled without trial. This resulted in large protests over what was seen as a grave injustice. In relation to the affair, one of the first Social Movement Organizations (SMO) of the refugee solidarity movement is created: The Committee for Foreigners Legal Rights (Komiteen for Udlændinges Retssikkerhed). However, in light of the obvious lack of regulation with regard to the legal status of foreigners, the affair also gave rise to a parliamentary committee with the purpose of scrutinizing the need for more regulation in the area of foreigners and immigrants. This results in Denmark's first Immigration Reform passed in parliament in 1983 stipulating under which conditions refugees and immigrants can stay in Denmark within the boundaries of the law, the rights it grants them, and when their presence in Denmark is not sanctioned by the law. Thereby, the political object of the following decades of political struggle between different governments and the refugee solidarity movement has come in to being. It is a paradox of historical hindsight that the movement itself, by problematizing the lack of legal regulation in the case of the Mexican Affair, indirectly caused the creation of the very laws it since has fought against.

At the outset, the new law regulating immigration is very liberal. However, under the influence of the re-emergence of a national right discourse that gains salience from growing concern over years of immigration of guest workers primarily from Turkey and a relatively large influx of refugees from the war between Iran and Iraq, new regulations soon make it more difficult for foreigners to come to Denmark. The growing number of refugees and notably refugees not obtaining asylum motivates the emergence of several SMOs. From the very outset, there is a Christian wing and a secular humanistic wing of the movement. This, in a Danish context, unusual alliance between religious Christians and secular and in many cases anti-religious activists is a characteristic of the movement that persists until today. Also, from the very beginning, assisting refugees who go underground is a part of the repertoire. This is outspoken in the case of the Committee for Refugees Underground (Komiteen for Flygtninge under Jorden) that still exists and today goes by the name Refugees Welcome. Today, it offers only legal assistance, but for the first couple of decades of the movement's existence, it pro-

vided legal assistance as well as a network of safe houses where refugees could live underground until pending deportation orders were withdrawn or other solutions found.

By the mid-1980s, the movement is organized nationwide in The National Association of Refugee Friends (Landsorganisationen af Danske Flygtningevenner). However, despite this mobilization in the 1980s and large-scale events like Church Sanctuaries in 1991-92 and 2009, the movement has not been successful at influencing regulation. In fact, immigration law has only become stricter (Bræmer 2010; Fenger-Grøn and Grøndahl 2004); a widening spectrum of political parties adopt an immigration-critical position (Holm 2006) to the extent that the opinion that immigration must be halted is hegemonic, and the general discourse has gradually turned more xenophobic (Mihai 2011; Vitus and Lidén 2010). In total, the political opportunity structure has only become less favorable, in the objective sense, and, I can tell based on my interviews, in the subjective perceived sense as well.

Considering this, it may in fact seem to be the case that the movement—which nonetheless through this period has managed to mobilize on several occasions—is running contrary to the common sense in social movement literature: that mobilization occurs when the political opportunity structure is favorable (Tarrow 2011; Meyer 2004). However, if we consider that in accordance with the theory of political opportunity and the political process model, movement mobilization may also occur under threat (Tilly 1978)—an aspect of the theory that has often been neglected (McAdam 1999a: x–xi)—we can develop a likely hypothesis as to why this movement insists on continuing to struggle in the face of continuous defeats. As I argued at the beginning of this chapter, how we treat refugees is telling of the strength and salience of the value of the sacred person. Thus, stricter immigration policies signify the weakening of the values that the movement's constituents take to be the most important. Hence, my hypothesis is that when they mobilize in solidarity with the refugees with little chance or hope of making an impact on the political regulations, this should in part be explained not only by compassion for the refugees but also by the fact that their values are threatened. Indeed, it is hard to think of more powerful symbol of the primacy of humanistic values and ideology than the refugee stripped of all rights and privileges of citizenship, placed at the mercy of the society she has fled to for rescue. If you believe in the sacredness of the person, how can you not respond with compassion when confronted with such a scene? How can you not respond with indignation toward a policy that does not show compassion and pity for the refugee?

The September Mobilization

The movement has run through several cycles of protest of which the latest in September 2015 is, by any measure, of the greatest scope. The mobilization happened as a re-

action to the arrival of a large group of refugees in a rather unregulated manner. The episode unfolded from Lesbos in the Mediterranean to the Central Station in Munich and Rødby Harbor at the south coast of Denmark when over summer 2015 the influx of refugees primarily from Syria escalated and the Greek regulation of refugees more or less ceased. Media coverage was massive as the police gave up detaining the refugees who started walking the freeway toward Sweden causing the shutdown of the roads. Such chaotic scenes are extremely alien to Danish citizens living in a highly-regulated welfare state. Thus, as the events developed on September 6, citizens becoming activists organized assistance for the refugees, providing them with food, clothing, and medicine at the train stations and harbors, as well as organizing illegal transportation onward to their destination, often Sweden.

The media overflowed with reports about this strong show of civic action at a moment when the state authorities seemed bewildered and paralyzed. Indeed, a sense of spontaneous uprising by civil society was in the air. However, a long-term buildup had taken place beforehand and had also received some media attention. I use data from Facebook to measure the development over time depicted in figures 4.1 and 4.2. Data has been collected as explained in chapters 2 and 3. Facebook is widely used in Denmark, and the most common and dominating form of organizing in the Refugee Solidarity Movement is on Facebook. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 picture the trends in the development of activists and sympathizers measured as members of Facebook groups associated with the movement as well as the development of the infrastructure of the movement measured as the number of Facebook groups of which most are local groups related to a specific community.[11]

Overall, the mobilization cycle falls in three steps. First, throughout 2014 and the first half of 2015, a buildup in membership is taking place, and, from early 2015, a buildup of groups also is occurring. From January 2014 to mid-June 2015, membership goes up from 5,293 to 12,277. This happens as a reaction to the increasing inflow of refugees in 2014 and onward (see figures 4.3 and 4.4) which leads to the establishment of more refugee-centers. This helps the diffusion of the movement around the country because with the establishment of a refugee center the opportunity to organize events and activism of solidarity with refugees emerges.

[11] The bulk of the remaining groups are focused on a specific activity or resource like translation or distribution of job-positions, medical assistance, and so forth.

Figure 4.1. Development in membership on Facebook related to the Refugee Solidarity Movement

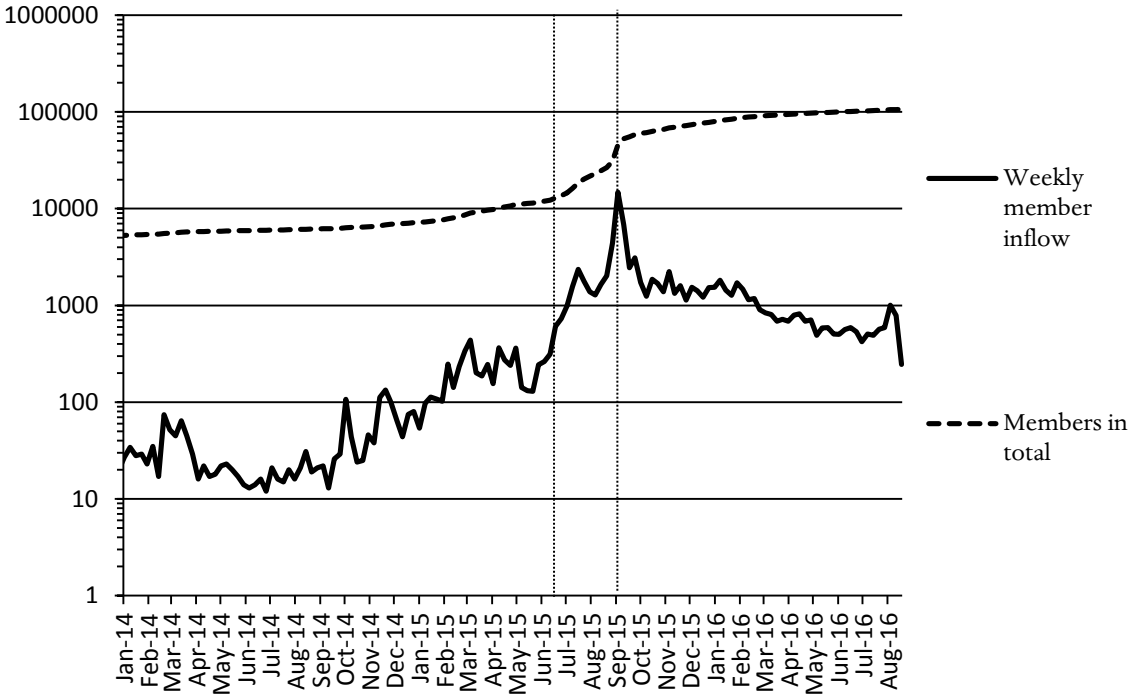


Figure 4.2. Development in Facebook groups related to the Refugee Solidarity Movement

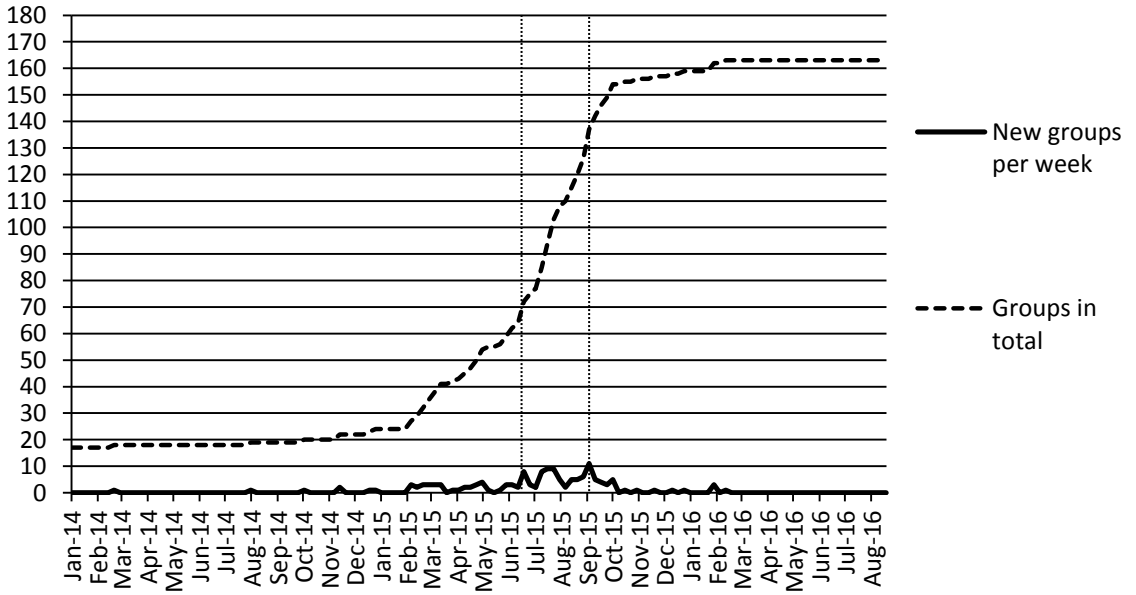


Figure 4.3. Asylum seekers and residence permits per year 2010-2015

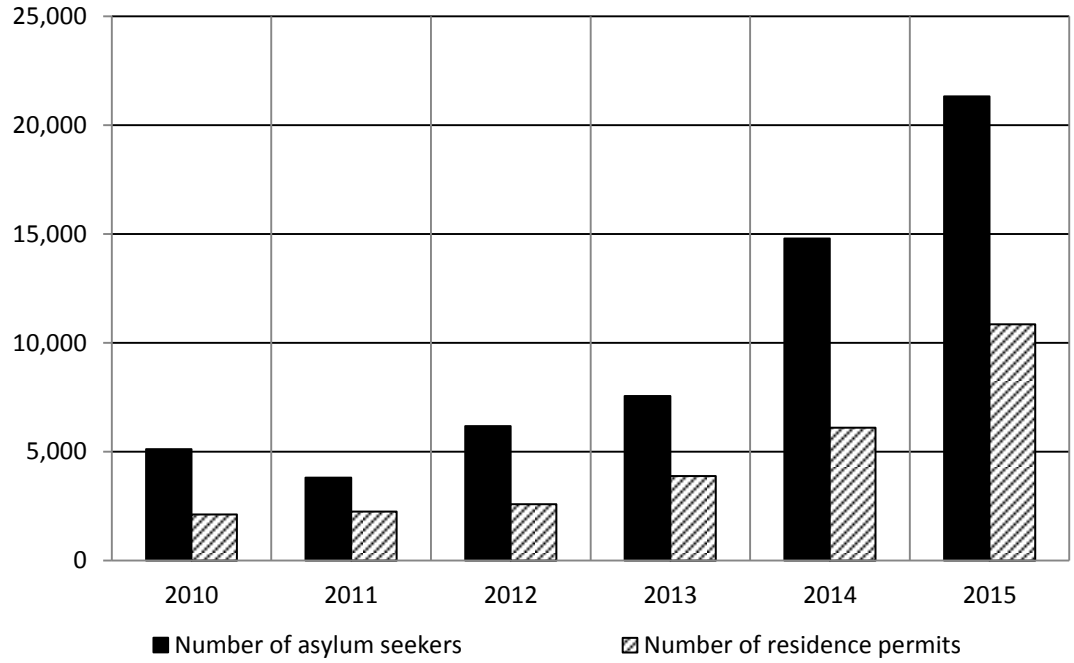
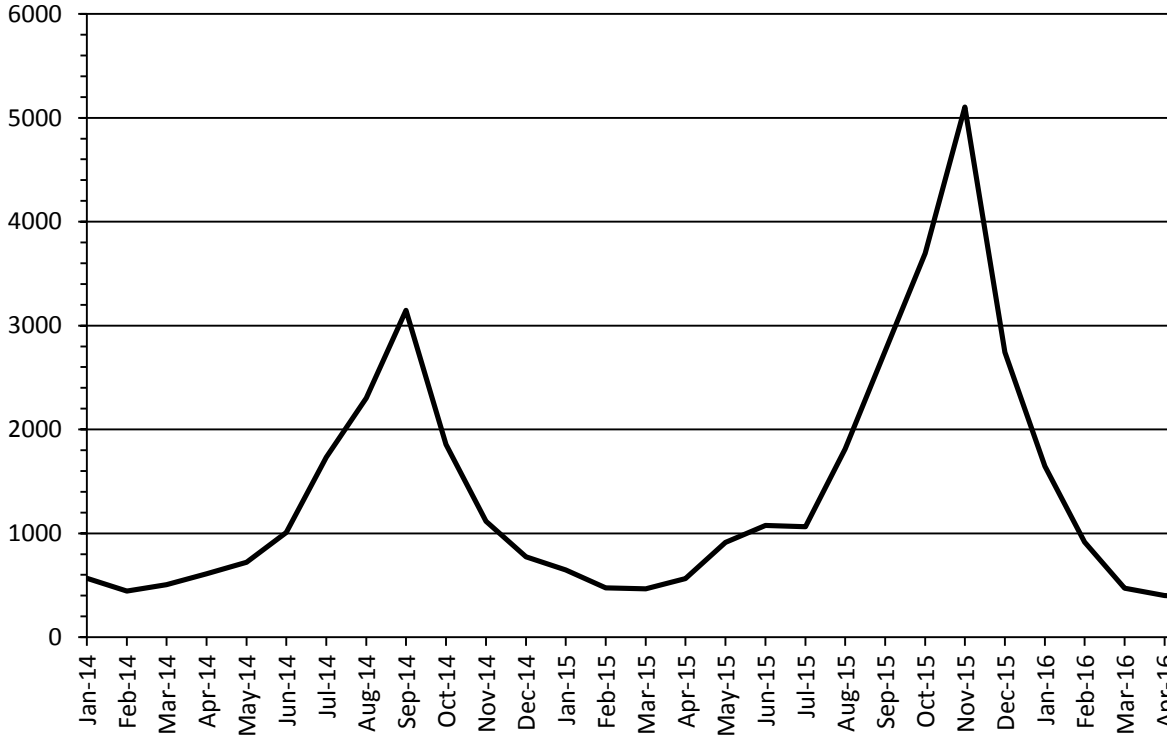


Figure 4.4. Number of asylum seekers by the month January 2014 to July 2016



The second period goes from June 18, 2015, marked by a dropline in the charts of figures 4.1 and 4.2 where a new parliament was elected resulting in a shift in power from a center-left coalition to a right government relying to a large extent of the mandates of the conservative Danish Peoples Party. Immigration had been a dominant issue in the campaign and the new government was determined to limit immigration. I take this event to be an important factor to the subsequent acceleration in membership inflow to the Refugee Solidarity Movement as well as the creation of groups. From the election until the first week of September, membership more than doubles from 12,227 to 31,061 and the number of groups doubles from 64 to 126. The latter is important as the movement primo September was present nationwide with groups in all of Denmark's 98 municipalities.

The dramatic events following September 6 described above and marked by a drop line in figures 4.1 and 4.2 initiates a new period and the climax of the mobilization. In the single week of September 6, 14,776 new members join, and 11 new groups are established. By the end of the year, membership is up to 79,693 distributed among 159 groups. I refer to the events and the start of the increase in membership and media attention as the September Mobilization which is facilitated by three factors. First, the events and dramatic scenes broadcast widely and intensively by the media in early September are very likely to have caused some kind of moral shock (Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Wettergren 2005). Second, a substantial nationwide movement infrastructure was already in place, increasing the likelihood of a successful channeling of the new members into meaningful activities. Third, as shown in figure 4.4, September was only the beginning of a period of massive influx of refugees peaking in November 2015 when 5,104 individuals applied for asylum in Denmark, thus providing the opportunity as well as the need for refugee solidarity activism.

The success of the Friendly People

The September Mobilization and, in particular, the buildup from the last months of 2014 an onward coincides with the emergence of a new group of activists with a distinct framing and style, namely, the Friendly People (Venligboerne). The concept of The Friendly People is to encounter other people in a friendly and positive spirit and through acts of kindness and help increase the quality of life and overcome prejudice and animosity. In the group description of the original group it says:

> 'The basic idea is simple: meet human beings with kindness and see what happens <3 […]
>
> We have three key sentences:
>
> 1. Be friendly in the encounter with others

2. Be curious when you meet people who are different from you.
3. Meet diversity with respect.'

The aim is to create more kindness and friendliness among people and the means is a change of attitudes toward others at the micro-level focusing on the importance of interpersonal relations for human well-being or, as it is expressed in the same group description quoted above, "We consider the meeting with the new citizens as an opportunity for joy and insight into life. Outlook provides insight—and vice versa."

Thus, The Friendly People are framing their activities as purely humanitarian, excluding the political and contested question of the refugees' right to protection from the Danish state which is explicitly expressed in the group description:

> 'We do not consider why the asylum seekers are here, or IF they should be here. We relate to THE FACT that they are here. So we leave it to the authorities to assess IF they have the right to be here. Until this decision, we are friendly and welcoming to them—this we believe is to show ordinary humanity and decency.'

The Friendly People have enormous success. Around 120 groups on Facebook nationwide bear the name of Friendly People, and they count tens of thousands of members[12]. The question of why this framing has such huge success shall be the final issue speculated on in this sketch of the movement's history.

First, timing is important. The Friendly People in the countryside town of Hjørring, the original group, had just kicked off when a refugee center opens nearby which, as explained above, happened all over the country due to the rising number of refugees coming to Denmark in 2014.

Second, the social media of Facebook is important. The fact that the Friendly People organize on Facebook makes them very accessible, and anyone can join the group and see how they do, read about the concept, and simply ask for advice, which people do. At the same time, the leading figures of the original Friendly People are very active in helping the new groups form and getting the concept implemented. Thus, the social media of Facebook demonstrates its use for organizing groups and accelerating diffu-

[12] However, the number of 150,000 members often mentioned in the press (e.g., Oxvig and Dandanell 2016a; Hvilsom 2016a; Søndergaard 2016; Berlingske 2016) and recently in a book on the Friendly People (Grøndahl 2017) is wildly exaggerated. It is the result of an incorrect method of counting. If one adds the number of members in all the approximately 120 groups, you get this number, 150,000. However, it is false because it does not take into account that many are member of more than one group, often several. Thus, the correct number, when taking multiple membership into account is currently around 100,000 (see figure 4.1), and that is even when including all groups in the movement and not only the Friendly People.

sion. Also, it makes it very easy to recruit through people's networks, and joining a Facebook group is extremely low cost.

Third, first regional and later national media covers the Friendly People in the beginning of 2015. It may be a coincidence, but the week after the first national story is published on the major national TV network, four new groups form. This media attention may very well have inspired others.

Fourth and finally, the framing and the concept itself may be part of the explanation. In the buildup period before September 2015, public opinion and discourse is dominated by nationalist and xenophobic sentiments and is, in general, hostile to pro-immigration and pro-refugee views. Thus, the non-political and non-contentious framing of the Friendly People, focusing on the compassion and making a difference for the refugee here and now with no regard to the political context of the refugee, might very well appeal to those sympathetic to refugees and immigrants because it did not point toward a political fight they had already lost. In a sense, given the closed political opportunity structure, the friendly people's framing of simply approaching refugees in a friendly way, and practicing the behavior you wish to flourish including offering the satisfaction of expressing your values and beliefs, might have seemed a relief to many and a way to do something without having to enter a futile political struggle. In a sense, to return to the initial considerations of this chapter, the Friendly People's framing invites a return from the politics of pity, to the compassion of the present (Boltanski 1999), and therein lies their success. At least, those are my four hypotheses of why this non-contentious movement has had such enormous success in relation to a highly contested issue.

As I shall discuss in the final subsection of the next chapter, such a position of focusing on the compassion of the present, leaving the perpetrations of the past and possible future remedies for the suffering aside, that is, excluding a politics of critique, is an unstable position that is difficult to uphold when living in a political world. This crossing between acting out of sheer spontaneous compassion for the refugee and how this demand to care for the unfortunate other constitutes a driver that may lead to political activism is at the center of this dissertation and is dealt with in different ways in the four main analyses presented in chapters 6 to 9. However, we first shall consider the characteristics of the contemporary movement.

5. Movement characteristics[13]

In this chapter, the contemporary movement will be characterized by presenting insights from all the data sources mentioned in chapters 2 and 3, but especially the survey data. As discussed, the survey sample cannot claim to be representative of the movement population in a statistical sense. Still, being the best available source of data for the purpose, it will be used for tentative assessment of the movement in what follows, but the patterns revealed are being critically assessed. In general, if the patterns are in unison with what has been observed from the other data sources—social media, interviews, field work, background research—they are likely to be trustworthy and not entirely off with regard to the general characteristics of the movement. However, in a strict sense, which still make them worth considering, they provide insight into the distributions and characteristics of the survey sample that make up the empirical material for much of the subsequent analyses.

Four questions shall be addressed: 1) the repertoire of the movement, 2) the landscape of groups and organizations in the movement, 3) general characteristics of the movement activists with regard socio-economic and cultural background as well as their motives for participation and more general civic engagement, and 4) the source of collective identity and solidarity as well as of internal conflict and divisions in the movement.

Repertoire

The repertoire spans a wide range of activities that roughly can be divided into political and humanitarian activities, with some being a mix. Very common activities aim to facilitate the social, economic, and cultural integration of the refugees or simply divert their attention from the uncertainty of their situation regarding their future as they await the result of their application for asylum. Such activities may include donating or collecting material things such as clothing and furniture, organizing events where refugees and Danes come together such as dinner parties, excursions to learn about Danish culture and history, and so on. Such activities are the most common alongside the extremely low-cost activities of online activism, as can be read from table 5.1. Apart from the online activism, this part of the repertoire can be said to constitute low-cost humanitarian activism.

Then follows traditional political protest in the form of petitioning, legal demonstrations, and happenings aimed at voicing concerns and raising awareness of the cause. These forms of political activism are low-risk. Serving as a contact person for refugees

[13] Parts of the observations and arguments of this chapter have prior been presented in Toubøl (2015).

is an equally common activity. This humanitarian activity is also low-risk but involves some cost due at least to the time and energy expended. Assisting newly arrived refugees is a special category that refers to the chaos of the days in September when large numbers of refugees arrived in an unregulated manner and civilians in a seemingly spontaneous manner quickly improvised to supply refugees with necessities such as water, food, clothing, medicine, and health care; this was mainly at the Copenhagen central station. These kinds of activities are, at face value, humanitarian, but given the context, they may also imply a political critique of the authorities' lack of will or ability to take care of the refugees. The same might be the case for providing legal assistance. Thus, they are cases of mixed activities.

This is also the case for most of the following high-risk activities of civil disobedience. They are characterized by protesting the deportation of refugees and thereby the decision made by the authorities or even the laws and regulation on which those decisions are based. At the same time, these activities are humanitarian as they are an expression of care for the unfortunate refugees. Such activities are rare, but if we count all who have been involved in civil disobedient activity, they number 262 or 11.48% of the sample.

Table 5.1. Movement repertoire sorted by number of participants in descending order

Activity	Frequency	Percent
Liking and sharing Facebook posts	1,838	81
Collecting and donating items	1,627	71
Posting on Facebook	1,545	68
Intercultural activity	1,267	56
Collecting and donating money	1,217	53
Petitioning	1,137	50
Contact person for refugees	993	44
Demonstrations and happenings	695	30
Legal assistance	439	19
Assisting newly arrived refugees	235	10
Econ. support to underground refugees	161	7
Refugees living in private home	126	6
Civil disobedience/direct action	104	5
Other support to underground refugees	95	4
Illegal transportation of refugees	37	2
Hiding refugees from authorities	36	2

Notes: Total n=2,283

The organizational landscape

The SMOs that make up the movement can be divided into four groups: 1) local groups of refugee friends, 2) large national humanitarian organizations and NGOs, 3) small local NGOs and organizations, and 4) activist networks.

Local groups of refugee friends are by far the most common, and during the recent rise of the Friendly People, this kind of group has thrived and their numbers grew explosively. However, not all such groups share the Friendly People label, and some have their own identities. These groups are inclusive and diverse, and often they organize members with rather different political and religious attitudes and values as well as occupational background. What is common is the locality of the group. This heterogeneity of the groups is what especially distinguishes them from the activist networks and minor organizations that will be described below. Such local groups are usually organized in a very informal way using Facebook as their primary place for sharing information, organizing, and coordinating. In a sense, Facebook is a kind of movement intranet. Sometimes, they are registered as a formal association with members and a steering board, but this is often only to accommodate requirements for receiving public funding. Their activities are, by and large, humanitarian, such as collecting and donating necessities for the refugees, helping them integrate, organizing intercultural events, and so on. They often also take part in large protest events and petitions, often organized by the small NGOs and activist networks. Political activism is, in this setting, very much connected to the cases of the refugees with whom they are dealing. If, however, a local refugee gets in trouble, these groups are extremely resourceful when it comes to organizing political protest, often of magnitude that leaves the impression that the entire local community is ready to shelter the refugee from the authorities and deportation, which at least once was almost the case (Thybo Andersen and Dufour 2005). It is also in these groups that the phenomenon of humanitarian care for refugees sometimes evolves into civil disobedience such as assisting refugees going underground. The social processes that lead ordinary citizens with little or no activist experience and no intent of breaking the law to suddenly finding themselves involved in underground operations to protect a refugee from deportation will be scrutinized in chapter 6.

The second type of SMOs are large, national NGOs and humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross (Røde Kors), Amnesty International, Danish Refugee Council (Dansk Flygtningehjælp), Save the Children (Red Barnet), and Action Aid Denmark (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke). These organizations are rather different. They consist of a national-level organization centered around the headquarters and local branches. They have their own means of communication and coordination, and different from the local

groups of refugee friends, Facebook is used mostly for advertising and communicating to the wider public. The Red Cross and Save the Children are by and large purely humanitarian in their approach and the work their members in the local branches carry out. However, the local branches may diverge from the official line, and the national organizations may occasionally criticize certain law proposals or changes of regulation and the like. These humanitarian organizations are also characterized by refugees being only one of many groups with whom they work. They are thus not exclusively dedicated to the refugee question. Fully committed are The Danish Refugee Council, which is the dominant NGO in the Movement. With its huge budget, its resources cannot be compared to any of the other minor organizations running on small budgets and voluntary work. The Danish Refugee Council plays an important role as an important source of information regarding the changes in laws and regulations, and they are also important because they have formal access to the political system and are consulted when new laws are being developed. This, plus the fact that they are, by and large, funded by the state to take care of certain tasks such as providing independent legal counseling for asylum seekers, places them in an ambiguous position between state and grassroots. By and large, they share much of the grassroots critique of the system and the laws, but they cannot express this critique as harshly as the grassroots would like due to their relationship with the state apparatus, and therefore, the grassroots often view them as soft and pragmatic. Nonetheless, the Danish Refugee Council is important as it facilitates the many small NGOs and networks coming together, meeting each other, and getting updated on what is new. This forum is an important place for sharing information, views, and analyses of the recent development among the many SMOs. Furthermore, the Danish Refugee Council has two sets of local branches. One is open to everyone, and the other is a youth division. The activities in these groups vary from being rather similar to the local groups of refugee friends described above to being close to the activist networks which will be considered below. Finally, Amnesty International and Action Aid Denmark are both political NGOs, and they often express strong critiques of the strict Danish immigration policies and their consequences, often from a human-rights point of view. What distinguishes them from other organizations, such as the Institute for Human Rights (a state-funded institution), is that they also facilitate and organize for political protest such as demonstrations and petitions. They are far from concerned only with refugees, but they play an important role because of their expertise and capacity for facilitating political protest, which is why they must also be considered a central part of the organizational landscape of the Movement.

A diverse group of specialized and extremely dedicated activists is organized in small NGO's and organizations. Here we encounter an NGO like Refugees Welcome that mainly provides legal assistance to asylum seekers, documents the consequences of the strict political regulation, and uses this to advocate for the refugee's cause. Others are LGBT-Asylum which is specialized in helping the many homosexual and transgender refugees and the Trampoline House that is a house run by refugees and activists together to create a space where the refugees can obtain the active agency which, to a large extent, they are denied in the refugee centers. A group that does not draw much attention includes the many Christian organizations. They make up a significant part of the movement, especially if we include the many local congregations around the country that work with refugees and immigrants and try to aid them both regarding integration, legal assistance, and sometimes in going underground.

The final kind of movement organizations we shall consider are the activist networks. They are mainly preoccupied with organizing political protest and raising public awareness. However, most of these networks, such as Grand Parents for Asylum (Bedsteforældre for Asyl) which puts the pathos of age and gray hair to work in their advocacy and protest, are also networks that assist many refugees in getting their cases processed and becoming integrated. However, the primary focus is on political activism. Some of these networks engage in direct action such as church sanctuaries, hindering deportations by obstructing the departure of flights supposed to carry the expelled refugees, or helping refugees to go underground.

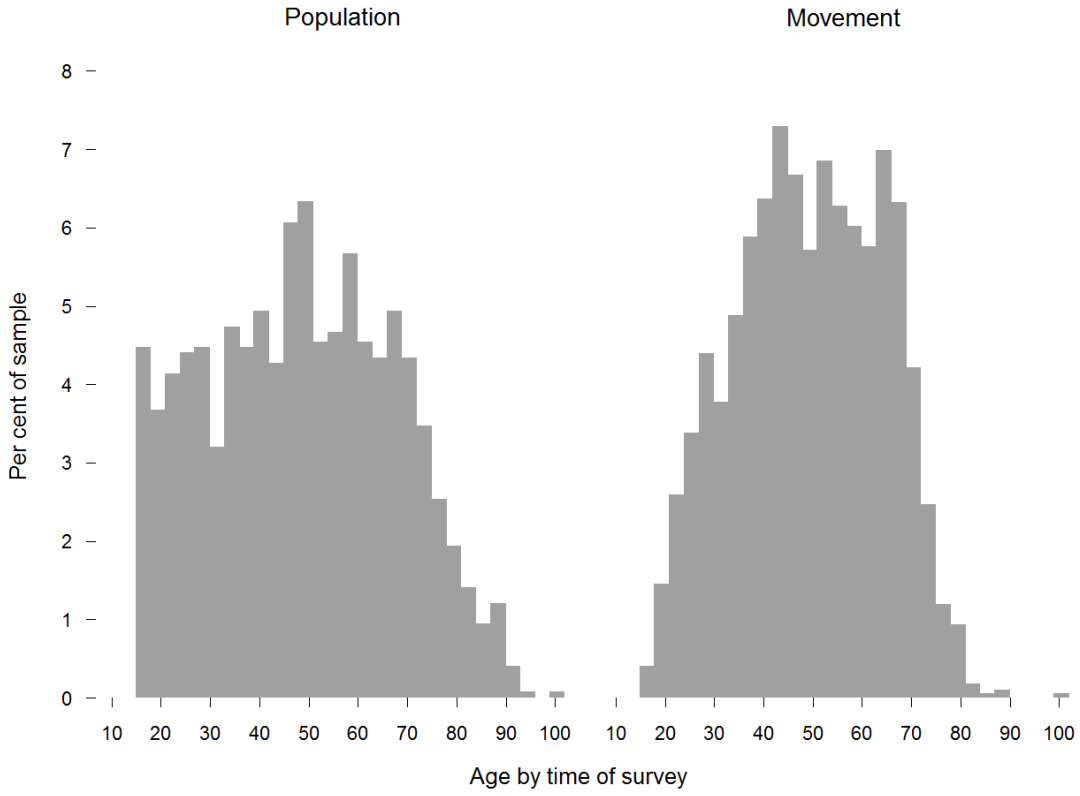
To sum up, the movement consists of many different kinds of organizations with different repertoires. This also expresses a degree of division of labor, even though very few organizations are specialized in only one aspect of the movement repertoire, except for small NGOs specializing in legal casework. In what follows, we shall consider the general characteristics of the activists who make up these organizations. This will reveal some commonalities regarding education and gender, but also heterogeneity regarding political and religious attitudes and relations to civil society, which is characteristic of the movement.

The activists

Who are the people who inhabit these organizations and carry out these activities? To answer this, items from the movement survey will be compared to items from the European Social Survey (ESS) and International Social Survey Program (ISSP), both round 2014. Here, these data will be used to say something very general about what characterizes the sample of movement activists regarding age, gender, education, religious and political attitudes, and their relations to civil society.

We begin by considering age. The mean for both the ESS sample and the movement sample is around 48 years. However, as the histograms of figure 5.1 shows, the distribution of the movement sample is more concentrated around the mean than is the case for the general population, which is not surprising as we would not expect very young or old people to participate. Another difference, typical for volunteering in Denmark (Fridberg *et al.* 2014), is that we find an overrepresentation of the age group 61-70 in the movement sample, who make up as large a share of the movement as the 41-50- and 51-60-year-olds respectively, and they outnumber the younger ten-year intervals.

Figure 5.1. Age distribution in population-sample (ESS) and movement-sample



Gender stands out as a factor that distinguishes the movement from the general population. Females comprise 84.3 percent of the sample. According to data from the more than 100,000 members of Facebook groups associated with the movement, around 70% of this population is female. Thus, 84.3 percent is likely to express a bias in data but that the movement has many more female than male members seems to be the case. This may very well be explained by the extension hypothesis from studies of volunteering that propose the sex segregation in work domains of the labor market and household extends into the domain of volunteer work (Staines 1980). For instance, Rotolo and Wilson (2007) find a clear pattern that men tend to serve on committees and

boards, and when there are exceptions it is within areas such as culture and education which aligns with the segments of the labor market women dominate. Women, on the other hand, prepare food, collect clothes, and help at events while men do maintenance work, which aligns with the traditional gender-based division of labor in the household. Given the dominance of humanitarian activities such as donating and collecting necessities and money, organizing intercultural events in the composition of the repertoire considered above, and perhaps the underlying dimension of caring for the unfortunate refugees, it fits nicely with the extension hypothesis that women make up most of the activists. However, for the political activities, we would not expect the same kind of gender bias. Rotolo and Wilson (2007) find little evidence of sex segregation in relation to volunteer work with political causes.

Table 5.2. Educational attainment (percent) in population sample (ESS) and movement sample

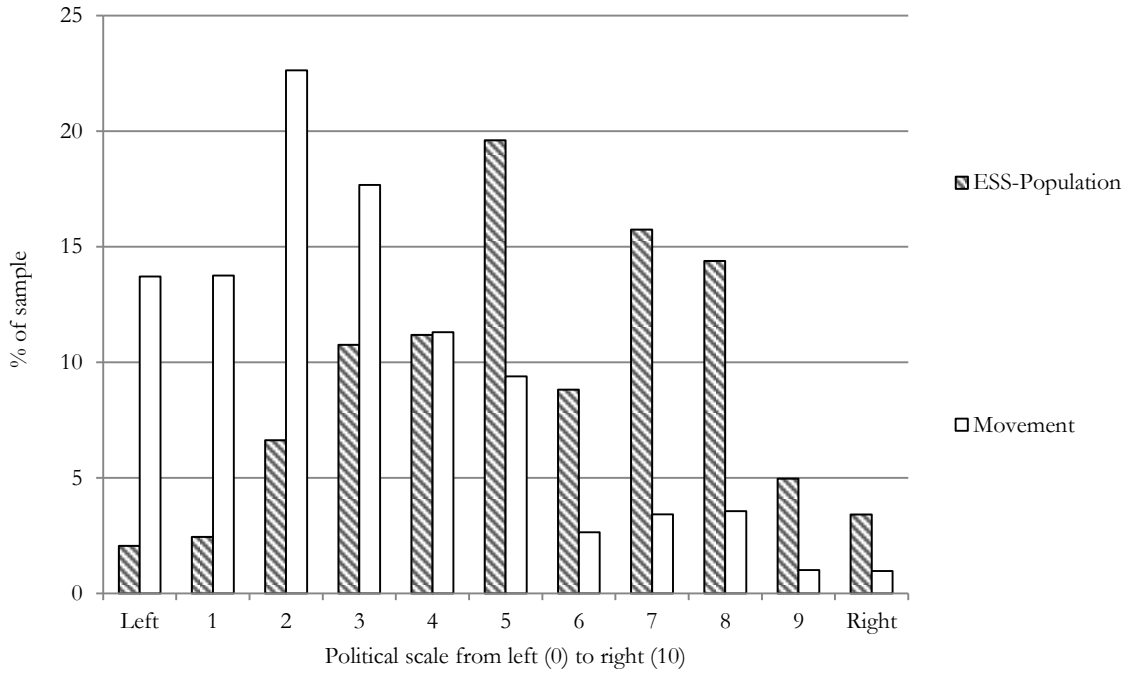
	Population	Movement
Elementary school	21	3
High school	15	7
Vocational training	41	9
Short and medium cycle higher edu.	15	43
Long cycle higher education	8	39
Total	100 (n=1,496)	100 (n=2,286)

Note: The ESS-sample has been weighted by age, gender, region, and education using the standard ESS post-stratification weights.

Another characteristic that should be highlighted is the high level of education. Table 5.2 reports the distribution of educational attainment. In the movement sample, almost 82% have completed some higher education, which is more than three times as many as in the ESS sample. For people in the so-called New Social Movements like this one, to have high levels of education is quite common, and thus it is expected. Still, we might want to consider some likely explanations. To continue with the extension hypothesis, an important mediator of the relationship between gender and volunteering is labor-market segregation. A wide range of public-sector jobs in Denmark concerned with care, education, and culture and occupied by nurses, psychologists, doctors, teachers, social workers, librarians, priests, and so on—all formal or semi-formal certified occupations requiring higher education—would presumably provide the skills needed to engage in aiding often traumatized and distressed refugees and organizing events aimed at cultural integration. In my field work and interviews, these were exactly the kind of professions I encountered most frequently. Moreover, my experience was also clearly that they were in part driven by the same interest in other people, in this

case the refugees, that probably had made them choose their career. Also, for the many public-sector workers who also functioned as civil servants and knew public administration from the inside, I encountered a strong feeling of professional outrage over what they experienced as a lack of objectivity and impartiality and breaches of fundamental principles of public administration in the processing of the refugee cases. Thus, the hypothesis proposed is that occupational extension mechanisms are what drive both the high level of education and the gender bias of the movement sample.

Figure 5.2. Distribution on political scale from 0 (left) to 10 (right) in population sample (ESS) and movement sample



Note: The ESS sample has been weighted by age, gender, region, and education using the standard ESS post-stratification weights.

The political views of the movement sample are not surprisingly left leaning as figure 5.2 also reveals. However, it is far from exclusively left-wing activists we are dealing with. A substantial share of the movement sample is from the political center and a minority have reported their political view as right-wing[14]. Thus, with regard to political background, the movement is relatively heterogeneous. This is also the case with regard to religious background. In 2014, 78.4% of the Danish population were mem-

[14] From respondents who contacted me during the data collection with questions regarding the survey, there is evidence that some had problems understanding the scale and read it inverse, resulting in wrong answers. In addition, from free-text comment fields we know that some of the respondents who are on the far right-hand side of the scale have helped individual refugees they came to have a personal relationship with, but in general they are still very much anti-immigration and anti-refugees.

bers of the Lutheran Danish National Church[15]. In the sample, this number is only 41.7%. In contrast, 50.1% answered that they do not belong to any faith. Muslims account for 2.3% and 5.9% belong to "other." Simply due to the relatively low share of members of the National Church, in a Danish context, this points to significant religious heterogeneity.

Table 5.3. Comparing membership of associations between population sample (ISSP) and movement sample

Civil society association	Membership			
	Descriptive		*Model*	
	% Population	% Movement	Odds ratio	S.E.
Political party	7	19	3.401***	0.411
Trade unions	64	64	0.900	0.073
Religious ass.	78	61	0.341***	0.029
Sports ass.	54	41	0.583***	0.043
Other ass.	39	62	2.327***	0.173

Notes: The statistical model includes controls for gender, age, civil status, children in household, employment, education, residence degree of urbanization.
*=p<0.05, **=p<0.01, ***=p<0.001. n=4,004

Table 5.4. Comparing active membership of associations between population sample (ISSP) and movement sample

Civil society association	Active			
	Descriptive		*Model*	
	% Population	% Movement	Odds ratio	S.E.
Political party	2	9	8.400***	1.894
Trade unions	10	12	1.213	0.145
Religious ass.	12	13	0.940	0.103
Sports ass.	44	30	0.566***	0.043
Other ass.	25	35	1.590***	0.129

Notes: The statistical model includes controls for gender, age, civil status, children in household, employment, education, residence degree of urbanization.
*=p<0.05, **=p<0.01, ***=p<0.001. n=4,004

If we consider the movement activists' civil society relations, they come from a more diverse selection of sectors of civil society than the general population, as table 5.3 shows. The observed differences have been subjected to statistical testing to ensure

[15] This number may seem very high, but the National Church of Denmark is a very strong institution deeply integrated in Danish society (Raun Iversen *et al.* 2008; Andersen *et al.* 2013) that despite recent years' decline in membership still has a very high degree of support (Danmarks Statistik 2017). In 2014, 78.5% of the population were members, according to Statistics Denmark (2017) which is almost identical with the percent of members in the ESS-2014 population sample.

that they are not just the product of large differences in the samples' compositions regarding various key variables, some of which have been scrutinized above such as gender and education. The estimated relationship between membership of civil society organization and being part of the movement sample vs. the general population ISSP sample are reported in columns to the right under the heading "Model." They are expressed as the odds ratio for being a member of the given civil society organization. The limited selection of civil society associations is due to the limitations imposed by the available item for comparison in the ISSP 2014 survey. Members of the movement sample are much more likely to be members of a political party and other associations. In the survey of the movement, the "Other" category has been unpacked, and for the movement sample, it almost exclusively refers to membership of political NGOs, humanitarian organizations, or grass-root organizations. For trade unions, there is no statistically significant difference[16]. The respondents of the movement survey, however, are much less likely to be members of a religious association or a sports association.

Another perspective is added when we consider not just being a member but taking an active part in the associations reported in table 5.4, which also reports descriptive numbers and the statistical estimated odds ratio of the variable relationship when taking various controls into account. Members of the movement sample are 8.4 times as likely to be active in a political party. The difference regarding trade unions is still not significant, but from movement-sample members being less likely to be members, they now appear to be slightly more likely to be active. Compared to being significantly less likely to be a member of a religious association, they are almost as likely to be an active member of a religious association as the general population, which means that the relatively few members of religious associations in the movement sample who are movement members stand out by being very active members of their religious association. For sports association, the chance of being active is almost identical to that of membership, and for other associations, it has decreased somewhat, but still, the movement sample is significantly more likely to be active.

The diversity with regard relationship with civil society and the suggested tendency toward movement members being drawn from the segment of active members is in alignment with the impression that I got from my interviews and field work, and is also supported by more statistical comparisons with the population in chapter 9 that reveals that the movement sample is also significantly more politically active than the population sample. Often, the refugee cause would be only one among several the activists

[16] To readers not familiar with the Danish labor market, the union density of 64.22% may seem unrealistically high. However, 64.22% is not a deviation; in fact, it is a quite precise estimation (Toubøl *et al.* 2015).

were or had been engaged in. However, often it was the one that they had put most energy into, and one they felt morally obligated to continue to vindicate.

Collective identity and internal conflict

The movement appears to be relatively heterogeneous, both when we consider the organizational landscape and important socio-cultural indicators such as political and religious attitudes as well as relation to civil society. This raises the question of what binds them together and whether such a heterogeneous multitude of activists can coexist in harmony. In this subsection, we shall consider the movement's collective identity and what gives rise to internal conflict. In both cases, the answer has to do with perceptions of the ethics involved in being involved with refugees.

At the heart of the movement's collective identity is the responsibility for the refugees based in a humanistic world view. The preservation of life and the dignity of the refugees is the primary goal, and refugees should never be the means to some other end. As one very experienced Christian activist who has a broad network puts it: "What characterizes almost everyone is that the engagement is motivated by a Christian slash humanistic worldview. Yes, to love your neighbor, humanism, we can use different words, but they are the common denominators."

This view is corroborated by several of the informants. Here, a leftist, atheist activist tells about his experience at a meeting with a predominantly Christian network:

> 'I met this group, and it was very easy for us to get along at a humanistic level and in our general worldview, in the understanding that there exist laws and rules given by Parliament and then there are other things which apply when it is about human beings, and thereby also in our approach to for instance civil disobedience. Different priests could find moral and ethical arguments in their religion sanctioning breaking the laws given by Parliament, where I and most of the other activists would find such sanction in political and ideological considerations. You can question in what the difference between love they neighbor and solidarity actually consists.'

This collective identity and solidarity are also expressed in cooperation and mutual support for various activities. For instance, a Christian activist who was involved in organizing a public event put it this way when I asked him to characterize the economic contributors: "If I am to label them, then it was the political left and the Christian right. […] The starting points were very different, but when it came to taking concrete action, then you can get together."

This humanistic/Christian worldview (Joas 2013) has its common fix point in the refugee, and how refugees are perceived and treated are the ultimate test of truly ad-

hering to the worldview. This becomes particularly clear when we turn to the relationship with the authorities and politicians, the primary opponents. The common view is that they do not treat the refugees as human beings with a non-negotiable right to life and dignity. Instead, refugees are treated as things that can be sacrificed for political ends, or reified as bureaucratic entities handled no differently than some material thing. A typical term used to characterize the authorities and responsible politicians are "inhumane."

Thus, an ethical responsibility for the refugee is at the heart of movement's solidarity (this ethical responsibility is considered in detail in chapter 6), and this is not only used to draw boundaries outwards but also internally: If someone in the movement is not handling that responsibility in a proper manner, that is, not acting in the best interest of the refugee, it generates negative attitudes. For instance, in cases of spectacular political actions like a hunger strike in a church organized by one group in the movement, others felt that it was crossing the line and not a proper way of taking care of the refugees involved. Another example was in relation to a major sanctuary where Danish activists in collaboration with asylum seekers organized their taking shelter in a church in central Copenhagen; other more experienced actors were rather critical of the strategy as they did not believe this to be the best way to serve the interests of the refugees:

> 'Actually, we disagreed very much with their [the sanctuary activists] methods. It is about what I said to begin with, if you are involved with asylum-seekers who are in such a precarious legal situation, then you should be very careful concerning what you involve them in. […] The problem is that you cannot apply for asylum for an entire group of people. The cases must be dealt with one by one. Therefore, the best they could have done was to organize a team of top lawyers to look at their cases individually. To make people believe that if they just hide in this church, then everything will be alright, that is something which is extremely efficient as a campaign tool.'

Such conflicts are also at the heart of the ongoing negotiations and discussions where some, at the one extreme, view the refugees' unfortunate situation as the consequence of an inhuman political system, implying that the salvation of the refugees relies on implementing fundamental political changes. To the contrary, those at the other extreme, do not view the matter to be political in any way but focus on the interpersonal relationship with the refugee stripped of his or her political context. This view has, as explained above, become widespread in the case of the Friendly People.

It does, however, become difficult to insist on the activities being absolutely without political implications when engaged in the highly contentious political issue of refugees

and immigration. For instance, among Danes skeptical of immigration, a common nickname for the Friendly People (Danish: Venligboerne) are Nasty People (Danish: Væmmeligboerne). In Danish, the two phrases rhyme in a way that makes them sound much the same. However, reports of Friendly People receiving threats and a negative response (e.g. Rosenquist 2015; Marstrand-Jørgensen 2016) from other people as well as criticism for being political in the public debate (e.g. Khader 2016; Gotfredsen 2016; Berlingske 2016) testify to the fact that what they themselves may insist is non-contentious and non-political others see as exactly political and contentious. This challenges and signifies the difficulty in of upholding such a position which results in internal discussion over the legitimacy of adding a political dimension to the activities. In August 2016, the issue surfaced in the national media in a debate between the founder of the original group and the spokesperson from the by then largest group in Copenhagen. They strongly disagreed over whether it was OK for Friendly People to be political and contentious (Hvilsom 2016a, 2016b; Haislund 2016; Oxvig and Dandanell 2016a, 2016b; Søndergaard and Holm 2016).

To sum up, across the very heterogeneous backgrounds of activists, there certainly is a sense of solidarity and collective identity in the movement which brings them together in concrete collective action. However, this solidarity, centered on the humanitarian motivation toward responsibility for the refugee, is challenged by disputes over whether different strategies for helping refugees are ethically defendable. This tension runs along a dimension in the movement which at the one extreme views the movement as purely humanitarian and non-contentious and, at the other extreme views the very existence of refugees as a political result and thus part of a contentious struggle. To use a distinction from Boltanski (1999), the first position wishes to maintain the activity at the level of compassion with the unfortunate refugee that exists in the concrete relationships, whereas the second position wishes to expand it to a politics of pity that transcends the relationship to the individual refugee.

To conclude the chapter, what we are dealing with in some sense is a case of what Parkin called middle-class radicalism (Parkin 1968) because its background is middle-class and its goal is not instrumental in the sense of advancing its material interests. Instead, a certain outlook grounded in humanistic values is what is central. However, where Parkin argued that the activists of the British campaign for nuclear disarmament were motivated to join the campaign by a variety of discontents and intentions that not necessarily had much to do with the bomb but rather stemmed from radical views related to a social-status discrepancy expressed by the combination of low income and high education that made them some kinds of deviants from the dominant culture, can hard-

ly be said to be the case of the activists of the refugee solidarity movement. The refugee solidarity activists are, in general, well integrated into the dominant culture and civil society and cannot be characterized as deviants. Furthermore, where Parkin's middle-class radicals found reward in expressing their radical beliefs, the refugee solidarity activists rather find reward in helping the refugees. In fact, even though values and attitudes and expressing them play an important role, rather than radicalism, I will argue that an important driver for activism that is both rewarding but also compelling shall be found in the ethics of the activists' inter-subjective relationships with the refugees. This ethical driver of activism is the subject of the following chapter which is the first of the four main analyses that constitute the backbone of the dissertation.

6. 'It felt very natural': the ethical driver for activism in the Refugee Solidarity Movement

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce a new theoretical category called ethical drivers in order to explain activism in social movements. The concept of ethical drivers is based on a sociological interpretation of the ethical theories of theologian Knud Ejler Løgstrup. The chapter shows that an ethical demand to be concerned about and care for the Other (in this case, the refugee) is constituted in the pre-societal dimension of interpersonal relationships. The analysis of the interviews suggest that this ethical demand is a vital component in interpreting people's activism in solidarity. Activism, particularly when it takes the form of civil disobedience, can carry considerable risk. The chapter argues that social movement scholars should take the category of ethics into consideration when analyzing activism and mobilization at the micro-level, especially in relation to emotions and morality. Overall, because the source of the normativity of emotions and accompanying actions is not only societal morality and norms, the current dominant culturalist view of emotions and morality in social movement literature needs revision in order to grasp the importance of pre-societal ethical drivers.

Introduction

What makes people spontaneously take action, which can carry considerable risks, in order to help strangers? In 1938 and 1939, the Chinese General Consul in Vienna, Dr Feng Shan Ho, played a key role in the rescue of an estimated 12,000 Austrian Jews by issuing them with Chinese visas (Grunwald-Spier 2010: 74–79). When he was asked why he did it, Dr Ho replied: "I thought it only natural to feel compassion and to want to help. From the standpoint of humanity, that is the way it should be" (Grunwald-Spier 2010: 76). Such a justification, which points to the act as something natural, is not unusual, according to the former head of the Righteous Among the Nations Department at Yad Vashem, Mordechai Paldiel. Paldiel has supervised the preparation of thousands of documents of those who saved Jews during the Holocaust (Gilbert 2003: 333–343). His insights into the motives of the helpers, leads him to argue that after a centuries-long "[…] brain-washing process by philosophers who emphasized man's despicable character […] we should recognize goodness as equally […] natural to our psychological constitution as the egoistic one" (Paldiel 1989). He adds: "Goodness leaves us gasping, for we refuse to recognize it as a natural human attribute. So off we go on a long search for some hidden motivation, some extraordinary explanation, for such peculiar behaviour. Evil is, by contrast, less painfully assimilated. There is no comparable search for the reasons for its constant manifestation" (Paldiel 1989, and see

also the concluding chapter in Gilbert 2003). Dr Ho's answer encapsulates the essence of the argument of this chapter which concerns the source of the goodness that Paldiel argues we should search for: when confronted with another person perceived to be in trouble, it is natural for human beings to experience a strong drive to care for this person. This presents itself as a normative demand to act in that situation. To help refugees no longer entails risking your life in the main, but today's activists who aid refugees fleeing conflicts in the border regions of Europe, this article argues, are none-theless driven by the same ethical demand to care for the Other.

If an ethical demand to care for the Other constitutes a driver for high-risk activism, we must pay attention to the predispositions and subjective beliefs in our explanations. Predispositions and subjective factors at large have, however, generally been excluded from studies of activism and volunteering in recent decades (McAdam 1986; Wilson 2000), with the notable exception of emotional factors (Flam and King 2005; Goodwin and Jasper 2006). In his ground-breaking study of The Freedom Summer campaign, McAdam (McAdam 1986) concludes that subjective factors like beliefs and ideological convictions absolutely matter when people get involved in high-risk activism. However, they are of little help when it comes to explaining why only a minority become active out of a much larger pool of people who sympathize with the cause of the movement. McAdam argues that the selection of a relatively small number of activists from a much larger pool of sympathizers should be explained primarily by a prior history of activism and integration into networks (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam and Paulsen 1993) rather than ideological identification (McAdam 1986). This and other theories along the same lines of activist recruitment have developed over the years (e.g. Della Porta 1988). The general trend has been toward developing an understanding of the processual nature of activist recruitment (e.g. Schussman and Soule 2005), which has brought back a focus on how cultural factors influence the micro-structural recruitment process (Nepstad and Smith 1999; Benford and Snow 2000; Bruni 2013). Among these, emotions have received much attention (Goodwin *et al.* 2000; Aminzade and McAdam 2001; Jasper 2011), and the theory of moral shocks stands out by proposing an altogether alternative recruitment mechanism of strong emotional reactions to things that are perceived as being morally wrong (Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Wettergren 2005).

This chapter contributes to the literature on activism by pointing to a set of ethical factors that constitute drivers to solidarity activism and are located in inter-human relationships, and hitherto overlooked in the social movement literature. Theoretically, the ethics are identified in the work of Danish theologian Knud Ejler Løgstrup (Løgstrup 1976 [1972], 1993 [1972], 1994 [1968], 1997, 2007), whose work has been long-

acknowledged as a major contribution in Scandinavian philosophy. Løgstrup's ethics have increasingly received attention in the social sciences, especially since the inclusion of his theories in the works of Zygmunt Bauman (1993, 2008; see also Larsen 2014) and the existential anthropology of Michael Jackson (2013). Such *ethics* are of a social origin, but they are at the same time what Baumann has named 'pre-societal', (Bauman 1993), meaning that they exist prior to the norms, values, institutions, symbols, language, and other meaning-giving components of society that are often lumped together under the label of culture. Thus ethics, in this sense, is distinct from *morality* originating in society. Pre-societal ethics are expressed in phenomena like compassion, love, trust and truthfulness, which Løgstrup calls the *sovereign expressions of life*. By the subject, they are experienced as an overwhelming exterior force compelling the individual to be concerned with and care for the Other – what Løgstrup calls *the ethical demand*.

This chapter argues that such ethical phenomena should be taken into account alongside factors of morality, emotions, cognition, resources, networks and biography that are already well established within the literature on activism and recruitment to social movements. They constitute drivers that may motivate action that can transcend the morals, laws, values and norms held in regard by the individuals themselves as well as by society. In this way, ethical drivers may constitute the creative source of agency in the alteration and innovation of morals, norms, values and politics. Thus, in general, ethics may help us to conceptualize and analyze an aspect of the normative impetus of the agency that generates contentious politics. Specifically, in this paper, the focus is on how ethics can play a crucial role in the process of getting involved in, and sustaining, activism.

This implies a critique of the dominant culturalist and constructivist tradition in the social movement literature on emotions. Here, "[…] even the most fleeting emotions are firmly rooted in moral and cognitive beliefs that are more stable" (Jasper 2008: 113)[17]. Thus, from this perspective, there is no room for sources of emotions beyond culture, so no room for the concept of the ethical demand that resides in the pre-societal setting of interaction and interpersonal relations. As pointed out by Jack Barbalet, "socially efficacious emotions are likely to be experienced below the threshold of awareness, rendering emotion work in the constructionist sense an unlikely prospect for socially significant sets of emotions" (Barbalet 1998: 24). Thus, in line with the argument of Barbalet, this chapter argues that emotions – as well as ethics and related factors that are of social origin but do not originate in society's culture – should not be excluded from the perspective of sociologists in general and social movement scholars

[17] However, there are notable exceptions from this positions, for instance Aminzade and McAdam (2001).

in particular. Rather, they should be included, because they may be the key to understanding seemingly spontaneous but significant actions of high risk, like civil disobedience. This issue will be discussed further in the final section of the chapter.

The argument of the paper is largely theoretical. However, to illustrate Løgstrup's ethics, I draw on empirical material from interviews with activists from the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement, which represent the sources that led to the discovery of the ethical dimension in activism in the first place. Since my interviews were carried out, the movement has experienced a massive revitalization in relation to the so-called European refugee crisis. As large numbers of refugees on their way through Europe arrived at the borders of Denmark in early September 2015, Danish civil society was not slow to come to their aid (Toubøl 2015, see also chapter 4). Responding to the massive media coverage of the exhausted refugees walking on the freeway, networks of helpers were established at short notice, and some engaged in illegally transporting refugees onwards to their destination, often Sweden. Within a few weeks, 46 people had been charged by the authorities, accused of illegal human trafficking (Jeppesen 2015). Since then, several Danish citizens who gave refugees a lift towards their destination have been convicted (Rabøl and Nøhr 2016). Similar forms of helpful behavior have been the response from groups of citizens all over Europe, and more generally, refugee solidarity activism is a phenomenon that has been observed in many different cultures and throughout history (Cunningham 1995; Blackett 2013; Lippert and Rehaag 2013; Hillstrom 2015). In this light, the question of why people spontaneously take actions that have considerable risks in order to help refugees is highly pertinent to social movement studies.

The argument unfolds in the following manner: after a short introduction of the case and the empirical material, the chapter's main section, three, is dedicated to explaining the ethical drivers located in Løgstrup's ethics. The argument proceeds in the following order corresponding to the sub sections:

1. First, the basic ontological axioms of the centrality of interpersonal relationships to human nature and their pre-societal status, as well as the central concepts of ethical demand and sovereign expressions of life, are introduced. It is established that an ethical demand to care for the Other resides in the pre-societal setting of human relationships and interactions, and constitutes a driver for action. Being pre-societal, this ethical driver enjoys relative autonomy from the norms and morality of society.

2. The workings of the ethical driver are elaborated in relation to two empirical examples of how the ethical demand is experienced as an exterior force, driving the actions – including the emotional response – of the actors, constituting sovereign ex-

pressions of life. This highlights how the ethical drivers may be the impulse that sets seemingly spontaneous actions in motion, including acts of civil disobedience.

3. In a continuing elaboration on the operation of the ethical driver, the focus is on the basic mechanism of establishing sympathy and empathy, which are crucial for the ethical demand to make itself felt. Human beings usually have a picture of the Other in their minds based on the characteristics of the Other that they think they know. This may be based on prejudice due to race, occupation or gender or something else. However, such pictures usually break down when confronted with the humanity of the Other, resulting in bonds of sympathy. This basic process is illustrated with an empirical example that helps us get a sense of how such processes unfold.

4. However, the picture may not break down if antipathy prevails and blocks the ethical drive. This accentuates the question of how societal factors mediate the ethical driver. Two concepts are discussed, namely that of *solidarity* and the *view of life*. First, if a person is in solidarity with the Other, it is much more likely that the picture will break down. Second, depending on to what extent a person views his or her life and fortune as dependent on other people, the person's propensity to act ethically increases. However, it is a crucial point in the theory that even though these concepts of solidarity and the view of life may mediate the ethical driver, the demand to act out of a sense of caring for the Other in a given situation may be of such a strength that the person acts accordingly, despite a lack of solidarity and feeling of responsibility for the fortune of the Other.

5. At this point, the fundamentals of the theory have been developed, so this part of the argument is an analysis of an example of how the ethical demand may drive an activist to engage in highly risky and costly activism, out of care for another person.

6. Finally, the sociological relevance of Løgstrup is discussed, and the use of Løgstrup instead of his much more renowned contemporary, Emmanuel Lévinas, is justified. It is argued that Løgstrup is much better suited for sociological analysis because he does not limit the ethics of care for the Other to face-to-face interaction, as Lévinas does. Thus, Løgstrup is applicable to analyses of a much wider range of interactions and relations than Lévinas.

The next section, four, concludes on the exposition and discussion of the relevance of the category of ethics to social movement studies. In the final section, five, the implications for the existing theories within the field are discussed, and it is argued that the moral and emotional theories of James Jasper and other culturalist authors need revi-

sion in order to include the ethical dimension, which in return offers to solve a number of problems in their theories.

Illustrative interviews from the Refugee Solidarity Movement

During the spring and summer of 2014, I conducted 42 qualitative interviews with activists and volunteers in the Refugee Solidarity Movement. This was before the massive mobilization that took place all over Europe during the summer and early fall of 2015 (Toubøl 2015, see also chapter 4). This section includes a brief characterization of the movement that serve as an illustrative case for this chapter in order to give the reader a sense of the context of the interviews. It also covers the data collection process, the methodology and the status of the interviews in relation to the argument of the chapter.

The Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement is a heterogeneous movement which brings together activists from the far-left with members of the State Church, pietists from the Lutheran revival movement of The Home Mission Society, national networks and local groups with no political or religious profile recruited broadly from civil society, networks of activists from the LGBT-movement, large professional humanitarian organizations like The Red Cross and The Danish Refugee Council, and NGOs like Amnesty International and Refugees Welcome. Over the years, social movement organizations have emerged and perished, and the level of activism and public attention has varied. Nonetheless, the overall characteristics remain much the same and the repertoire has only changed a little. The repertoire spans social and cultural integration of refugees, inter-human and cultural exchange, legal assistance and influencing politicians as well as the public debate and opinion (Toubøl 2015, see also chapter 5). Sometimes, disobedience in the form of helping refugees to go underground or hide from the authorities is deemed necessary, but usually only as a last resort (Karstensen 2002). More public forms of civil disobedience are also sometimes carried out, as in the case of church sanctuaries for refugees (Meilvang 2012; Kirkeasyl 2011; Sørensen 1992).

Turning to methodology, to the extent that it has been possible to influence the selection of interviewees, the aim has been to have maximal variation with regard to their organizational and ideological background as well as the activities they have been engaged in, alongside factors like age, gender, geography and the time of their active membership of the movement. However, no claims are made with regard to generalizability on the part of the empirical findings. They do, however, constitute a very varied set of cases, which is suitable for exploring and developing plausible hypotheses regarding the mechanisms, factors and processes at work in the mobilization and recruitment of social movements. In this chapter, the empirical material serves the pur-

pose of substantiating the theoretical propositions and exemplifying how ethics drive action.

The interviews were a combination of life history interviews and phenomenological descriptions of key events and activities that the interviewees had been involved in. In this paper, the focus is on the latter element of the interviews. The phenomenological approach (meaning a focus on a description of the events they had been involved in rather than directly inquiring into the causes and reasons for their actions) was chosen, as my intention was to get as close as possible to their thoughts, feelings, and deliberations – to investigate what factors influenced them in the moment of making crucial choices amid significant events. This approach aimed to separate the causes of why they acted as they did from their justifications of their action. Why we do something and how we afterwards justify the actions and its consequences may, after all, differ significantly, although there may also be overlaps. This distinction becomes especially important when we deal with acts of civil disobedience that are in high need of justification.

In what follows, the interviewees are anonymized and their identities are obscured. This means that they are not mentioned by name, and characteristics like gender, age, occupation, area of residence and other personal details have been changed. If deemed necessary, details in their narratives such as places, times, and the names of organizations and other people have been left out or changed in order to ensure anonymity.

In this chapter, the interviews first and foremost serve the purpose of providing illustrative examples of Løgstrup's ethics playing out in real life. In turn, the examples provide some empirical evidence suggesting that such ethics play a role in activism. However, no causal claims are inferred on the basis of the empirical material, since the data are retrospective and lack comparable information on non-participants. It is limited to exemplifying and, at best, suggesting the plausibility of the theoretical argument which is the contribution of this chapter.

The ethical demand and the sovereign expressions of life

In this main section of the chapter, Løgstrup's theory will be developed in dialogue with the empirical material, which serves the purpose of substantiating the theoretical claims and provides empirical exemplifications. The argument is structured in six subsections as explained above in the final part of the introduction.

First, the basic concepts and arguments of his theory are introduced, carving out the fundamental axioms underpinning his ethics. The next two sub-sections provide examples of how this ethics is experienced by actors, and expands the argument by pointing to the importance of sympathy and antipathy in order to explain why we do not always act ethically. In the fourth subsection, the exposition then turns to focus on the rela-

tionship between the pre-societal ethics and wider society. The concepts of solidarity and view of life are central to grasp how the institutions and values of societies interact with and may indeed suppress the ethical demand. In this way, the core of the argument of the category of pre-societal ethical drivers will be presented. In the following subsection five, the relevance of the ethical category to social movement studies and political action is highlighted by exemplifying how the ethical demand may make actors defy societal constraints, for instance by committing acts of civil disobedience out of care for the Other. Finally, subsection six argues for the relevance of Løgstrup to sociology over his more renowned contemporary Emmanual Levinas. Contrary to Lévinas, Løgstrup argues that relationships are always aesthetically mediated, opening up the possibility of imagined relationships. Thereby, Løgstrup can be applied to a much wider range of forms of interaction and relation than the theory of Lévinas, which is restricted to face-to-face interaction.

The basis of the ethical demand

Løgstrup's ethics are what Baumann has called pre-societal, and focus on interactions and relations in a given situation. To familiarize Løgstrup to the sociologist reader and clarify what is implied by pre-societal ethics, a parallel can be drawn to the sociology of Erwing Goffman. What Løgstrup is pre-occupied with is similar to what Goffman called the interaction-order, which exists sui-generis, meaning it has relative autonomy from the institutions of society and thus can be described as pre-societal. Løgstrup focuses on and provides a more comprehensive theory of what to Goffman was a moral constraint of the interaction order, namely the commitment to the face of the Other (Rawls 1987). Løgstrup does not use concepts like 'moral constraint' or 'interaction-order', but asserts that in all human relations there is an *ethical demand* that we should be concerned with, and indeed, care for, the Other(s). This demand is not made by the Other, but originates in the interdependence of interpersonal relations. Because human life always exists in relation to other people, the ethical demand has an ontological status that exists prior to the morality of society's institutions, rules, norms and values (Fink and Macintyre 1997: xxxii).

Two observations about human life are made by Løgstrup. Together they constitute the assumptions of his ethics: First, all relationships involve power, in the sense that a part of the Other's life depends on us. Our lives are in a fundamental and ontological sense intertwined and entangled in a web of interdependencies, simply because we share the world we live in:

> 'Person never has something to do with another person without having some degree of control over him or her. It may be a very small matter, in-

> volving only a passing mood, a dampening or quickening of spirit, a deepening or removal of some dislike. But it may also be a matter of tremendous scope, such as can determine if the life of the other flourishes or not.' (Løgstrup 1997: 15–16)

From this, it follows that the fortune of the Other's life depends on the subject. In this ontological sense, we "[…] constitute one another's world and destiny." (Løgstrup 1997: 16). This assumption alone does not constitute the ethical demand, but it does constitute the necessary conditions for the ethical demand, that a person is always to a degree delivered into the care of the Other. The second necessary assumption is that trust in human relationships is fundamental to human life:

> 'It is characteristic of human life that we normally encounter one another with natural trust. […] This may indeed seem strange, but it is a part of what it means to be human. Human life could hardly exist if it were otherwise. We would simply not be able to live; our life would be impaired and wither away if we were in advance to distrust one another, if we were to suspect the other of thievery and falsehood from the very outset.' (Løgstrup 1997: 8–9)

Løgstrup argues that to live in distrust is impossible. To Løgstrup, humans are not essentially distrustful creatures[18]. Rather, to encounter each other with trust is what is considered as the normal state of things. Certainly, war, arbitrary rulers and the like may destroy the natural trust and create a climate of distrust, but this is not the norm, and distrust, is after all, derived from the experience of trust. The point is that trust arises out of the interdependencies between humans; and thus, trust, together with love, openness of speech, truthfulness and compassion, are intersubjective ethical phenomena in their own right. They are what Løgstrup calls *sovereign expressions of life* (Løgstrup 1976, 1994). As humans are interdependent on each other, life is only possible because human beings trust, love, are truthful, show compassion and so on, and as such, these phenomena are expressions of life.

However, it is important to be clear that the ethical demand may define what is the 'good' thing to do in a general sense – care for the Other – but it does not stipulate any course of action. How to take care of the Other, and how we emotionally respond, depends on the values, beliefs, norms, and morality that are of societal origin. Thus, ethics are not emotions, but ethics may compel us to be compassionate, truthful or loving. Thus, actions are in a crucial way shaped by the societal conditions of life,

[18] The most obvious example of an author taking such a position is Thomas Hobbes, with his egoistic and opportunistic anthropology (Hobbes 1994).

whereas the ethical demand to act in order to take care of the Other has its origins in the pre-societal dimension of interaction and interpersonal relations. Accordingly, no universal or transcendent code of conduct can be derived on the basis of Løgstrup's ethics. Nonetheless, it is a universal and transcendent normativity, as it clearly distinguishes good from bad in interpersonal relationships.

The experience of the ethical drive

To better grasp such ethical phenomena, I shall provide the reader with two examples from interviews with activists who got deeply engaged with refugees in a rather spontaneous way in their encounters with them. The examples also serve to clarify how ethics are distinguishable from emotions, and how they, of course, interact with the well-established mechanisms of recruitment like networks.

Sovereign expressions of life are sovereign because such actions do not stem from will, but from the relationships humans are engaged in; from life. In this light it is no coincidence that we speak of being 'overwhelmed by love' or 'overwhelmed by compassion' as if something exterior took command of us, because this is exactly what happens in such situations. How to act out the sovereign expressions of life is, however, up to the actor, and in doing so actors shape them with the addition of reason-giving and teleology (Christoffersen 2008). Thus, expressions of love, compassion and trust are spontaneous in the sense that they originate from our nature. Human beings are constituted in their social relations, entailing interdependency and relations of power.

To sum up the relationship between sovereign expressions of life and the ethical demand: "As ways of taking care of others, the expressions of life fulfil the ethical demand – before the demand has even made itself felt. The sovereign expressions of life are therefore more fundamental ethical phenomena than the demand that derives from them." (Andersen and Niekerk 2008: 2)

I will argue that the following two examples from the interviews represent cases of sovereign expressions of life. The first is from an interview with an activist in the 60s, who gave this answer when asked what happened when he met a refugee in a Danish asylum center in person for the first time:

> 'Then I just couldn't say good bye – this was interesting. I could only get out of the door by saying "I'll be back". […] There is nothing fine about it; I don't have any special words for it. It was natural.'[19]

This statement is quite typical of the interviews. The experience of not being able to leave without in some way taking responsibility for the other person(s), as if some exterior force were holding him back, is what can be expected when involved in a sover-

[19] The original quotes in Danish can be obtained from the author.

eign expression of life and when the ethical demand presents itself. This reflects the *sovereign* in sovereign expression of life in the sense that the situation takes over and the actor more or less spontaneously answers the demand. The actor can either try to block this demand or give in to it and become one with it; that is, act out a sovereign expression of life.

His qualification of what he experienced by pointing to it as being the natural thing to do, as opposed to something 'fine' which can be described by 'special words' expressing some high ideal or principle, also matches Løgstrup's description of how sovereign expressions of life are our intuitive or spontaneous way of responding to what is at stake in the relationships we engage in, and not the product of careful reflection.

This example also stands out because emotions are not foregrounded in his description of what went on. Instead, focus is on how the relationship between the activist and the refugee imposes itself on the activist in a way that is experienced as restricting his will. His way of acting on the ethical demand is to employ one of the most fundamental conventions in our culture; namely, making the promise that he "will be back". This promise not to leave the Other to make it on his or her own can be interpreted as an explicit expression of the ontological entanglement, which is confirmed in the words themselves, assuring the Other – in this case, the refugee – that she is not isolated. In this sense, it is a very basic expression of care.

Emotions of compassion are foregrounded in the next example, where a parish clerk describes her encounter with an underground refugee wanted by the police, whom she has agreed to harbor. The refugee is brought to her home by a friend:

> 'And then, when they sit in the living room and I am talking with my friend, and the refugee… he is very nervous and seems to be mentally distressed, tired and… and, and, and, here I will say, if we are to anticipate things, there are no comprehensive deliberations preceding events, it is simply a question about you sitting there with this human being and thinking "Shut up! Things are really bad for him!" I came to feel sorry for him!'

In this quote, the emotions arising in the situation are highlighted. The parish clerk who is about to commit civil disobedience is quite clear that she did not give much thought to the matter at hand before committing the act. She simply had to help when confronted with this person who appeared to be tired and stressed. Her sympathy with the desperate situation of the refugee and his mental and physical state, which touched her and made her feel compassion for him, removed any doubt about whether helping this person was the right thing to do, even if it meant breaking the law.

Before the encounter, the parish clerk had already agreed to help the refugee to stay underground, and her tie to a friend who was already involved in the illegal activity is

another important explanatory factor. The encounter with the refugee, however, accentuates the situation and effects a change of perspective; from helping out a friend it becomes about helping a person in need and the motivation becomes her obligation to take care of this person.

In both examples, a bond of sympathy between the activist and the refugee is quickly developed in the interaction. This process is crucial to Løgstrup's argument and the focus of the next section.

Sympathy and antipathy

Fundamental to the process of manifesting the ethical demand is some level of sympathy with the other person. For the demand to care for the Other to make itself felt, we must recognize the Other as another human being. This important process of developing a bond of sympathy is the subject of this subsection.

We sympathize with other people due to love, friendship or solidarity. However, when we do not have sympathy for someone, we can construct an image of the person based on our preconceptions. Such a picture may give rise to antipathy if it is a picture of characteristics we are hostile towards. Depending on the strength of the picture, the presence of the other person may, nonetheless, be enough to establish sympathy and trust. In Løgstrup's words "the picture breaks down" (Løgstrup 1997: 13). It does so due to the ethical demand arising in the situation.

The interviews provide accounts of the emergence of bonds of sympathy and solidarity in the encounters between activist and refugee. To be more precise, what I found emerging were narratives of the transformation of abstract sympathy with refugees as a category, to concrete sympathy with a specific person following the encounter between activist and refugee, and entailing a much stronger commitment.

The following quote is from an interview with a ca. 50 year old activist describing what happened when he met the refugees for the first time at a meeting arranged by refugees and activists. His motive for going to the meeting was curiosity and general interest, but he came with no intention of getting involved. However, meeting the refugees in person changed his mode of engagement dramatically:

> 'Then I think, no, then I know, that I was much affected and got engaged in the encounter with the refugees. And I must say, it is fair to say that in reality it was probably the first time that I really was in touch with some these people we have in this society – that is, refugees and asylum seekers – you know, earlier I had also been interested in the refugee problems but I had no close contact with the individual people and back in the 80s I was very occupied with South Africa and the Apartheid regime down there, but it

was also different, very distant – or the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, also extremely distant, right – so, this experience of suddenly sitting beside Ali or Mustafa, these people that it is all about, it touched me, that is, I got engaged by sitting beside a 13-year-old girl speaking perfect Danish and who had never experienced anything else than Denmark and who was afraid of having to go back. I was engaged by sitting beside a 19-year-old guy who was just about to finish high school.'

Two elements in this account stand out. First, the proximity of the refugees is important when he explains what was special about this situation. He has a long history of political activism on the political left, which he also mentions in the quote, but this time it is different, because he is meeting those he wishes to help in person. This is different from basing one's political engagement on a more abstract and distant sympathy with the cause of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua or the black population of South Africa during Apartheid.

The proximity of the refugees is closely related to the second important element; namely, the importance of emotions. He tells how he was "touched" by simply being in the presence of these people and how he "got absorbed in the meeting with the Iraqi". This illustrates how the situation was characterized by overwhelming emotions related to empathy and sympathy. In this case, the activist got engaged in the fate of these people, and developed a strong feeling of responsibility for them. As a result, he became involved in establishing a sanctuary in a church in Copenhagen which later became the pivot of a major political struggle between activists and refugees on the one side and the Danish State on the other. It ended dramatically when the police cleared the church and deported the refugees.

To Løgstrup, this inclination towards sympathy cannot be more adequately described than saying that the sovereign expressions of life are fundamental to human life altogether. This also implies that *not* recognizing their primacy and the demand to act out of love, trust, compassion, etc., is effectively a denial of life, and thus in conflict with our own nature. The fact that human beings are dependent on each other, from which follows that we have power over each other simply because we can influence each other when we interact, is hardly controversial. Furthermore, the argument that society (which is the same as saying human life that only exists and is possible in social groups) as such would be impossible if we did not normally encounter each other trustingly may seem somewhat more controversial than it is, as it could seem like Løgstrup assumes that humans are essentially good. However, Løgstrup is not claiming that human beings are essentially good or altruistic as opposed to bad or egoistic. He does not assume any essential properties of human beings except that our existence and lives

depend upon each other, with all that implies, including the demand to care for the Other:

> 'It is impossible to refute this reasoning, because the life which we have received implies from the beginning to end that we belong to one another's world. Others are part of life we have received; they constitute its content. Any other life, a life in isolation, is humanely speaking unthinkable.' (Løgstrup 1997: 117)

The source of the inclination to normally encounter each other trustingly, which constitutes the ethical demand to take care of the Other, derives not from some essence in the single human being, but from the relationships, interactions and interdependencies which constitute us.

However, despite this ontology, we do not always live in accordance with the ethical demand. Many pragmatic reasons can be thought of to explain this (lack of resources, feeling unable to help, etc.) but Løgstrup suggests two more fundamental reasons related the concepts of *solidarity* and *view of life.* They also expand the perspective of his theory by adding the influence of the societal dimension.

Solidarity and view of life

Having explained the fundamental operations of pre-societal ethics, this section develops on the issue already touched upon in the preceding discussion of sympathy and antipathy; namely, why we do not always act ethically. To answer this question, we move beyond the pre-societal realm of the social and scrutinize how societal factors of solidarity and what Løgstrup denominates as 'view of life' mediate the ethical demand to care for the Other.

As explained, our antipathy of the Other may keep us from sympathy. This links to the concept of *solidarity*, the ordering of people into the categories of *us* and *them*, *friend* and *foe*, which for Løgstrup is key to this issue (Løgstrup 1993). The question of who we consider to be of our own kind, and thereby who we are responsible for, and who we exclude from the circle of people who we recognize as fellow human beings, is crucial in understanding our antipathies and sympathies. The point is not that solidarity determines these issues. When we encounter someone, our picture of that person may break down despite our initial picture of the person as someone we are not responsible for. But if we approach another person with antipathy because we do not have solidarity with the person, this is less likely to happen.

Many of the interviewees expressed an abstract solidarity encompassing anyone human, basically implying that all people in need are entitled to help. It also implied a

stark rejection of any attempt at erecting barriers between people based on religion, ethnicity, nationality or any other cultural trait.

In addition, and related to solidarity, our *view of life* is a crucial mediator of our propensity to act in accordance with the ethical demand. Despite the fact that we cannot live in total isolation from other people, as a product of socialization in accordance with certain values, ideologies or beliefs, our understanding of life can still be that we are in a fundamental way independent of others and masters of our own lives and happiness. It may also be the opposite; that our life is a gift that in a fundamental way depends on other people and so does our own happiness and the happiness of others:

> 'Through the demand we are, so to speak, asked whether we intend to make ourselves masters of our own life to the point of deciding for ourselves who shall and who shall not be a part of it, or whether we will accept our life as a gift in order to use it for taking care of the other person's life.' (Løgstrup 1997: 127–128)

The way humans reply to the demand, then, depends on their view of life, which may vary between the two extremes of considering oneself to be the master of one's own life and considering one's life to be 'given'. The closer the view of life is to the latter position, the more likely it is that the person in question will care for other people (Løgstrup 1997: 135–136).

My informants can in general be said to be closer to a view of life as 'given' than the opposite. However, their view of life can have many origins: Christian or humanistic upbringing and beliefs, the lessons learned from the tragedies of WWII and memories about the Hungarian refugees of 1956 and left-wing political and ideological beliefs were all typical components brought forth when they described the origins of their basic values. In common was a set of modern humanistic values rejecting any form of de-humanizing and a strong support of human rights (Joas 2013). I will not go into a detailed empirical analysis of the origins or variations of such life views, as this question is beyond the scope of the argument of this chapter, but only note that in the data I have encountered nothing that contradicts Løgstrup on this point.

There is an intimate relationship between the societal factors and ethical ones. Views of life, solidarity, the capacity for sympathy and more practical and pragmatic circumstances in the situation often influence the extent to which individuals act as they are ethically demanded to act. Even though the ethical demand arises from the pre-societal reality of the relationships in the situation, the situation and individuals are embedded in society's culture, institutions and history. However, the reason it is important to pay attention to the ethical category is that despite these other factors, it may still make the person act in ways that transcend the behavioral constraints im-

posed by society's laws, norms and morality. That is, the ethical demand is a source that endows the situation of interaction and relations with a relative autonomy from the societal constraints, without claiming absolute autonomy. The next section is concerned with this issue of the transcendent aspect of the ethical demand.

The transcendent potential of the ethical demand

In the interviews, I encountered several examples of how the ethical drive can push aside norms, rules and laws that the activist would abide by under normal circumstances. In all of the interviewees' descriptions of what occurred when they made critical decisions leading to risky actions, the risk (and when illegal, the fact that it was against the law) did not play any major role. The following provides one example from a case of civil disobedience. This activist is well acquainted with the law as her everyday job involves a great amount of legal work, and so was very much aware that her actions were illegal. The context of the account given below is that the activist was volunteering as a relief worker in a high-risk conflict zone. She decided to get a teenage girl out of the conflict zone and illegally transport her to Denmark:

> 'Interviewer: Can we go back to when you smuggled the girl to Denmark? In that case, you did break the law. What made you make such a decision?
> IP: It was I, who made it.
> Interviewer: What goes through your head, what do you think?
> IP: It felt natural. It felt very natural … and unreal …. When you think of it being illegal, the law. Because you think 'How can this be illegal?' Because, I knew it was, you know, in my head, but I could not relate to it. I remember, I was buying a passport, a forged passport. […] And I remember, when I was buying the passport, then I thought 'What I am doing is illegal' – at that point I realized it – and I thought 'It is so easy!' [laughs]. I thought, 'God, this is just so easy!'. I wondered how it came it felt so natural. That's what went through my head. And how scared I was, when we travelled up here. […] It was not until we came to the airport, that I got scared. Not before. For there stood someone on the balcony – I do not know whether it was terror or something – because some policemen were standing there, pointing their machineguns down in the departure hall. [Laughing] Shut up, I was scared! Think if they pointed at me! And when we were seated on the plane then there was a problem and we got delayed, and they said in the speakers, that we would fly shortly, and I thought 'What the hell is wrong? Why don't we take off? In a few seconds, all those machineguns will enter to come and get us.' And then finally, we took off and flew.

> When we came to Copenhagen Airport, I got scared. I thought, 'Now we have come this far. Think if they take her and send her back.' […] And then we finally arrived at the passport control post, and it felt as if my legs were made of led. And then the passport officer said, 'Welcome to Denmark', and slammed a piston in the passports. And then we walked, and we just looked at each other and laughed! [laughs]'

This quote provides an example of a general pattern in the interviews, when the interviewee describes how the law loses its authority when it contradicts what in the given situation is experienced as the "natural" thing to do. The interviewee described how it felt unreal that what she was doing was illegal. Other interviewees used expressions like "surreal" to describe similar experiences, or said it was "ridiculous" and "far-out" that it is illegal to help a person in dire need. For many, the law became "meaningless" and commanded no moral authority – in a few cases, the sanctions of the law were taken into account but never played a major role, as is also the case in the quote above. This account is also typical in the sense that it is not until after the decision has been made, and sometimes even not until after the deed has been done, that the risks involved are fully realized. In this case, the fear that this may actually go terribly wrong does not present itself to the interviewee until they arrived at the airport. In sum, the account provides an example of the transcendent potential of the ethical demand in the sense it may lead to actions that transcend the norms of society, but which in the situation are experienced as being the right thing to do.

The aesthetic mediation of the experience of the Other

Before summarizing and concluding this exposition of the argument over the relevance of the category of pre-societal ethics for the study of social movements and political action, I shall briefly argue for the advantage of Løgstrup's theory of sociological analysis over his contemporary, Emmanuel Lévinas. In essence, Lévinas restricts his ethics to face-to-face interactions purified of aesthetics. Løgstrup, who argues that all interaction is aesthetically mediated, is not restricted in this way, and consequently his theory lends itself to analysis of a much wider range of forms of interaction and relations as well as their aesthetic representations. The secondary aim of this argument is also to justify bringing Løgstrup to the attention of sociologists when the ethics of Lévinas, which are in many ways similar, have already been introduced by Zygmunt Bauman.

Løgstrup and Emmanuel Lévinas (Lévinas 1987a, 1987b, 1996) are often equated (e.g. Bauman 2008), and indeed, there are many parallels. However, through analysis of the following quotes, I wish to draw attention to two crucial differences between the

two major figures in the ethics of care and at the same time, to provide further insight into the social dynamics at play.

For Lévinas, face-to-face is the ideal type or even the only form of inter-human encounter in which the ethical aspect can manifest itself, as a result of it being cleansed of all aesthetics. That face-to-face interaction is a setting where the ethical demand thrives is also evident from the interviews I conducted. For example, as a very experienced activist replied when I asked her to expand on what she meant when she stated several times during the interview that it was the concrete individuals and their stories which constituted the driver sustaining her engagement:

> 'It's because, as soon as you meet them face to face, then something happens. That's what happened to me. When you see a person who cries, and is completely distraught, perhaps psychologically destroyed, and you then see something there, some hope in that face, it is worth it. And so, to me it has always been the concrete people. It is that way around and not the opposite. [...] It was the refugees who got me out of the study room.'

However, Løgstrup does not exclude the ethics of care from non-face-to-face kinds of interaction and relationship; rather the opposite, in fact. For instance, he argues that we can feel responsible for the coming generations because their conceptual presence in our imagination is enough for us to have a relation to and with them (Løgstrup 1993).

This difference has to do with the different views of aesthetics held by Løgstrup and Lévinas. To Lévinas, "aesthetical and ethical phenomena are antagonistic." However "[…] to Løgstrup, the aesthetics has primacy over the ethical: The ethical demand of the Other presupposes that I am in contact with the life of the Other which takes place in a sensuous-aesthetic way. The aesthetical masking of the Other, thus, is not per se an unethical objectification, but rather a sensuous way to become ethical demanded by the Other." (Liebst 2009: English abstract). Thus, whether relationships are embedded in face-to-face interaction or not is not a principal division to Løgstrup, because to him all human interaction is aesthetically mediated. He points, for example, to poetry as a mediator (Løgstrup 1997: 192–206). If we return to the quote, the aesthetic qualities are highlighted in order to explain how the Other was experienced, when the activist speaks of "a person who cries" or "some hope in that face". This interpretation is more in alignment with Løgstrup's view than Lévinas'.

The following quote provides an example of such a mediated relationship. It is from an interview with a teacher of around 80 years old, who was describing his reaction to the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956. It became a turning point in his life leading to a lasting involvement with refugees.

'IP: In '56, we [the interviewee and his wife] were driving with the radio on, and then we heard this call from Hungary … It made such an impression on me, that I started crying. And then I said, "We must help, we have to help out" […]
Interviewer: It was the Hungarians' radio broadcast, which they broadcasted, that you heard? […]
IP Yes, here it is [he reads out loud the radio appeal]: "Appeal to the civilized nations of the world. S.O.S. The nation bleeds under the Russian tanks. Help us! Help us! S.O.S. To all writers of the world, to all groups of scholars and academicians, to the intelligentsia of the world, we ask aid and support from each of you. There is not a moment to be lost. Help Hungary! Help the Hungarian people! Help! Help! Help!" And it was said with such amazing … I was suddenly placed at the centre of the world. […]
Interviewer: As you heard it on the radio, if you can recall it, was it the unjust actions carried out against these people, which – [IP interrupts]
IP: – It was the misery, it was the despair. Yes, for I did not know much about the political context. I could just hear that these people were in distress. They were in despair … and consequently, you had to help them. You could also hear these Russian tanks coming in and so on … so … it was the first time I had anything to do with refugees, I would say.'

This quote exemplifies the differences between Løgstrup and Lévinas pointed out above. In the quote above, no face-to-face interaction takes place and proximity is of no importance. Here, a much more abstract kind of relation through a radio-broadcast constitutes the ethical demand. The informant highlights the way the radio statement was uttered and the sound of the Russian tanks in the background as important elements of the experience, triggering the emotions that brought him to tears. In this case, the informant's reaction is a sovereign expression of life, but a special case where the compassion and the need to help the Hungarians has no immediate destination. The compassion with the Hungarians is effectively homeless, to speak in metaphors. Being unable to act on the ethical demand, placed the informant into a state of despair that was caused by his inability to help the desperate Hungarians whom he felt an obligation towards. He turns to his wife, exclaiming that they have to help, to vent his desperation. However, for this informant, the energy and drive of this situation were soon after channeled into activities that became the beginning of a life-long commitment to the cause of refugees.

The fact that the relationship and ethical demand does not depend on face-to-face interaction, and the relationship can be mediated, is also evident from the next exam-

ple. The quote is from a young activist in her twenties, whose main activity has been legal assistance to asylum-seekers. She really wants to work on influencing the politics regulating the area because trying to help individual refugees is an unviable strategy as there are not enough resources to help all of them. What is really needed, she believes, are changes at the political level. However, despite this realization, she found it very difficult to say no when confronted with the written case of a refugee at the first meeting in the group she had joined:

> 'IP: Concerning why you end up doing it. I think, basically, it was just that I was asked – after they, apparently, had found out a little about who I was, and then – you could not say no. Or, if I would like to take Achmad's case? Or something, where I of course said, that I would like to be part of the more political, or go out and talk to people and, the caring part, exactly because I was not competent enough to take on the legal responsibility. It was too big a mouthful. When you get asked, you cannot say no.
> INT: Had you met the client at that moment?
> IP. No. No, no.
> INT: So they give you a case file and you experienced that you cannot say no to taking on the case?
> IP: Yes.
> INT: While you read it?
> IP. Yes.'

In this case, we are dealing with a very different kind of aesthetics. It is not a dramatic situation but rather the cool facts of the case-file, consisting of reviews of the refugee's situation assessed in relation to the legal framework regulation of Danish refugee politics, statements of medical opinions, and transcripts of interviews with the refugee, all conducted and written in the language of bureaucrats and state-officials. The activist has never met the refugee face-to-face or talked to him, but simply by reading the case and realizing that there is a concrete person who is in need of help (even though she does not think she is qualified for the job, and wants to do other tasks), she cannot refuse to help.

The two last examples both clearly demonstrates that as an empirical phenomenon, ethics of care are not restricted by aesthetic mediation. On the contrary, even the first example of face-to-face interaction draws attention to how aesthetics are essential to the sensuous experience of the Other. This emphasizes the relevance of Løgstrup to sociological analyses of the ethics of care, because it warrants analyses of a much broader variety of forms of interaction and relations.

Conclusion

This paper started out by asking, why do some people help strangers in an ostensibly spontaneous way, even when this involves high risk and cost? It is suggested that part of the answer is that they do so spontaneously – meaning according to human nature, following Løgstrup – because human beings are fundamentally constituted by our relations to other human beings, which implies a demand to take care of the Other due to the power we hold over each another in these relations. The ethics of our relationships constitute themselves in a positive way in sovereign expressions of life, which involve a number of emotions and sentiments which arouse our passions and sometimes result in action. These actions receive their normative direction from the pre-societal ethical demand to care for the Other, but they receive their form from the societal factors of culture, norms, institutions, morals and values.

In particular, the aim of the chapter is to argue that Løgstrup's ethics are useful to explain involvement in activism and social movements. As such, ethics are likely to have explanatory potential in the study of movements in which inter-human relationships are central. Despite the entanglement with other factors involved in activist recruitment, as well as the intimate relationship with the cultural, moral and institutional factors of society, the role played by the ethical demand is analytically distinguishable, both theoretically and in the empirical material examined to substantiate this claim. The interviewees' descriptions of what they experienced in significant situations, and their trouble in finding words to describe why they did what they did – as well as the distinctions they make between these experiences and the justifications of why they took action, as well as the content of the action itself – are all in line with the theoretical propositions of Løgstrup, which is indicative of their validity.

The relevance of ethical driver is not delimited to dyadic, one-to-one forms of face-to-face interaction; they can be constituted in relationships varying from face-to-face interaction to the mediated and one-sided interaction of, for instance, a radio broadcast. Thus, mass media and shared content on social media may provide ethical drivers and lead to impulses that affect many people at the same time. Thus, they may constitute a shared experience instigating collective action and mass mobilization.

The ethics involved in human interaction and relations may energize a line of action already embarked upon. They may also be the impulse that sets things in motion and causes dramatic changes in the lives of those affected. This may be experienced as forcing the activist to take on tasks and responsibilities that, to begin with, they did not want to take on.

As mentioned, ethics are distinguishable from morality and norms, but they are nonetheless related to and mediated by these societal factors. Sympathies linked to the

bonds of love, friendship and solidarity are crucial, as strong antipathies stemming from prejudice and preconceptions may hinder sympathy with the Other. In particular, the category of solidarity is of interest to students of social movements and civil society, as the beliefs, values and principles determining our solidarities are of societal origin. Ideological beliefs or political-, economic-, ethnic- or gender-based divisions in society may in this way influence who we have solidarity with and count as being of concern to us. Similar beliefs and values that are of cultural origin are also central to the individual's view of life, which, as with solidarities, is predicative of the likelihood of a person being concerned with the Other and, hence, acting.

Finally, the ethical demand has a transcendent potential. Despite it being mediated by cultural factors, it can nevertheless transcend such values, norms, beliefs and laws, in the sense that such moral entities may lose their authority in the face of doing what is experienced as the 'right' thing to do in a given situation. The ethical demand forces the individual to choose between doing the good and the bad thing; and if doing the good thing entails actions that would otherwise be considered wrong, this may still appear to be the right thing to do. In this dynamic resides a creative moment, as such events may lead to a revised view of society's norms, values, and morals, as well as revisions of personal beliefs.

Discussion: from moral shock to sovereign expression of life

In this section, I wish to bring the findings into dialogue with the social movement literature on emotions and morals, and expand and supplement the theoretical understanding of such phenomena. Several authors have made crucial contributions to this discussion (For useful discussions and overviews, see R. Aminzade and McAdam [2001] and Jasper [2011]), but when it comes the relationship between morals, emotions and activism, the work of James Jasper and his co-authors stands out.

The fundamental claim of this paper is that ethics should be taken into account as a category in their own right, alongside morals and emotions. This claim implies an expansion of the social constructivist and culturalist approach advanced by James Jasper and associates (Jasper 1998; Goodwin *et al.* 2004; Goodwin and Jasper 2006; Jasper 2008). The expansion consists of suggesting that social movement theory should also encompass the pre-societal category of ethical drivers, in addition to the numerous societal factors of culture, emotion, morality, resources, structures, institutions, etc., which are already covered by the literature on social movements (Tilly and Wood 2009; Tarrow 2011). To clarify what this entails, I will compare the ethical drivers with the concept of moral shocks.

When Jasper uses the concept of morals, he refers to already established principles, values and visions available in the culture on the one hand, and moral intuitions on the

other (Jasper 2008). Principles, values and visions may be in institutionalized forms or the result of creative interpretation of, or even the creation of, new moral entities by individuals and groups. The point is that they are socially constructed entities which form the basis of moral judgment and motivate action. This is also the case in the process of activist recruitment. Moral shocks may motivate individuals without any prior history of activism, or personal or organizational ties to social movements, to engage in protest – either individually or by joining already established movements (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). Jasper defines moral shocks as "the vertiginous feeling that results when an event or information shows that the world is not what one had expected, which can sometimes lead to articulation or rethinking of moral principles" (Jasper 2011). In contrast, a sovereign expression of life does not spring from any moral principles or an experience of the world not being as it morally ought to be. Instead, sovereign expressions of life arise in the situation where the natural thing is to take care of the Other.

Morals may matter when it comes to deciding how to act out of concern for the Other. Here, a creative moment is involved in determining the appropriate action to fit in with the sovereign expression of life. This action of caring for the Other is carried out in accordance with our habits or what we believe to be the appropriate way to care for them. In this decision, societal factors like norms, values, morals, cultural repertoires, and so on, are important.

However, morals (as well as norms, values, beliefs, personal interest, etc.) may run contrary to what in the situation appears to be the ethically right thing to do. We may, for instance, hesitate to act compassionately because the action demanded seems morally wrong according to some moral principle. As a result of such a moment's hesitation, the ethical demand will immediately make itself felt, demanding that we care for the Other regardless of whether this entails acting in a way that is contrary to the stipulations of society's norms or morals. Such a case makes it clear why we must distinguish between ethics and morals, as they are actually far from the being the same thing.

As argued at length above, the ethical demand and sovereign expressions of life as phenomena do not originate from the social constructs of our culture, institutions and moral and societal factors as such, but from the ontological constitution of humans as social beings. In a sense, the focus on culture in constructivist tradition does not recognize the existence of human life outside that which is socially constructed. This is problematic, especially in relation to emotions, as human beings' emotions also depend on factors beyond culture, like the ethical demand, or, to bring in a very different example, our nervous systems, as argued by Heinskou & Liebst (2016). As Barbalet notes (Barbalet 1998: 24): "The constructionist conception of emotion, by incorporating the

explanans of the theory (culture) in the definition of the explanandum (emotion), can at best offer descriptions of emotions, rather than explanations of them […]".

This creates two problems in Jasper's conceptualization of moral emotions. First, ethical phenomena are difficult to conceptualize within the culturalist framework. The concept which comes closest is that of *moral intuitions*. This concept is basically equated with a number of moral emotions "[…] such as shame, guilt, pride, indignation, outrage, and compassion" (Jasper 2011). Thus, we are not offered any explanation of why we experience these emotions, and how we intuitively sense something is allegedly morally wrong. The normativity of such emotions is simply assumed, but the origins of this normativity are not explained. An explanation of the source of normativity is exactly what the category of ethics offers.

This leads us to the second problem concerning the relationship between morals and emotions. In a discussion of the traditionally assumed opposition of rationality and emotions, Jasper states that "[…] even the most fleeting emotions are firmly rooted in moral and cognitive beliefs that are more stable." (Jasper 2008: 113). This point of view runs contrary to the argument of this chapter, namely that emotions like compassion, trust and love may arise as a sovereign expression of life. In such cases, they are not rooted in more or less stable moral and cognitive beliefs, as Jasper assumes. To be clear, I am not arguing that emotions cannot be rooted in moral beliefs. I am arguing that we should not let this concept constrain us from also including the ethical dimension of human life.

Including the ethical category in the research will provide a theoretical framework for what hitherto has been only vaguely and somewhat tautologically conceptualized as moral intuitions and moral emotions. Furthermore, this system of ethics offers an answer for why some emotions arise in a spontaneous manner and compel the individual to act. Ethics can help explain the impulse, drive, and normative direction of such actions. In other words, the ethical foundation of such phenomena is crucial in specifying the source of emotions and the accompanying actions. Finally, the normativity of the ethical driver may enter into conflict with our own selfish interests, morals and beliefs – as well as society's norms – thus offering one possible explanation of what drives and initiates the creative agency of political innovation.

7. Low- and high-risk activism: combining theories of networks, socialization, emotions and values in a study of the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement

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In September 2015, large numbers of refugees arrived in Europe provoking a massive mobilization of refugee solidarity activism. This chapter is a quantitative study of differential recruitment to the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement. It analyses data from a unique survey of 1,856 activists. Unlike most other studies, it analyses both low- and high-risk activism. Previous research suggests that emotional and network-based explanations of activity are alternative theoretical approaches, but we integrate both perspectives and supplement them with social values as a third explanation. The results show that participation in low- and high-risk activities are influenced by different factors. Low-risk activities are influenced by 1) emotional reaction, 2) structural availability, and 3) predispositions in the form of basic human values. High-risk activity is influenced by 1) prior history of activism and 2) emotional reaction. Furthermore, emotions, networks and values interact, which points to the need to integrate the different theoretical approaches.

Introduction

Understanding the differentiation in activity among participants is central to social movement studies. From the late 1980s and onwards, the most prominent movement scholars have argued that the level of involvement in activism depends on the factors of structural availability, primarily social networks (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam and Paulsen 1993), activist identity, related to socialization (Della Porta 1988), and biographical availability (the available time for activism depending on the activist's life situation) (Bruni 2013; McAdam 1986; Schussman and Soule 2005; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). During the 1990s, this theoretical line of thinking was challenged by theories that emphasized the importance of emotions in activism; in particular, how sudden events create moral shocks that can provoke people to become active irrespective of their social networks (Flam and King 2005; Porta and Giugni 2013; Jasper 1998; Jasper and Poulsen 1995). Rather than seeking a common understanding, the struggle between the two lines tended to dominate the field (Goodwin and Jasper 1999; Jasper 2008; Meyer 1999; Polletta 1999; Tarrow 1999; Tilly 1999). These lines of theory had relatively little contact with the more general studies of political action (Barnes and

Kaase 1979) and values (Inglehart 1977; Deth and Scarbrough 1995b; Deth 1995). However, in such studies, the researchers were mainly interested in the mobilization from the population to social movements rather than differences in activism within a movement. In sum, the three kinds of explanation tended to be studied separately, which prevented explorations of how the networks, emotions and values involved might interact or play different roles in relation to different kinds of activism in a social movement. In contrast, the ambition of the present study is to demonstrate the fruitfulness of combining these three types of explanation in a study of low- and high-risk movement activity.

Since Barnes and Kaase's (1979) seminal study of political action, a large number of quantitative studies of social movement activity and recruitment have focused on who is active in social movements. However, there are far fewer studies concerning the differences in activities within movements, as with this case study on the Refugee Solidarity Movement in Denmark, which experienced a massive mobilization in September 2015 in response to the large number of refugees who crossed the Danish borders (Toubøl 2015). This chapter is one of the first papers to analyze the reaction to the ongoing refugee influx in Western societies. In studying within-movement variations in activity, we develop the approach of Wiltfang and McAdam (McAdam 1986; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), which measures variations in activism with regards to the level of risk involved. Instead of a continuum from low- to high-risk, we assume a qualitative difference between the two, and make a distinction between low- and high-risk activism. This enables us to investigate whether the factors that influence low- and high-risk activism are identical, or whether they differ.

This study makes five contributions to the literature on activism. First, it shows that low- and high-risk activities are not influenced by the same set of variables, which indicates that different factors and processes lead to engagement in each form of activism, which consequently suggests that an analytical distinction between low- and high-risk activism is fruitful for future studies. Second, all three explanatory lines outlined above contribute to explaining an involvement in activism. Third, these three sets of factors interact in crucial ways, which suggests that the three perspectives should be integrated, which warrants the development of a more broadly integrated theoretical framework that combines the three theoretical lines. Fourth, compared with previous quantitative studies of within-movement differentiation, there are a much larger number of observations in this study. The fact that this study has 1,856 respondents enables more sophisticated and robust statistical modelling and a more nuanced and detailed view of the processes that create differences in activism. Fifth, as one of the first studies to deal with the recently revitalized Western Refugee Solidarity Movement, it provides im-

portant insight into this movement. Given the current attempts in most Western countries to limit the number of refugees in Europe, combined with right-wing mobilization in many countries, the Refugee Solidarity Movement is likely to make a permanent impact as the opposition to these tendencies.

Case description

In methodological terms, the case under study is highly relevant for an analysis of all of the three aforementioned theoretical lines. First, we study a particular event, which we interpret as favorable to the theories related to emotions, and in particular, to the moral shock thesis. Between September 6-30 2015, the Danish police estimate that at least 21,000 refugees crossed the Danish borders (Rigspolitiet 2015). This happened in a highly unregulated way. The media broadcast images of large groups of tired refugees in ragged clothes walking on the freeways. There were reports of chaos at the border and turmoil at Copenhagen Central Station. While the authorities and the police seemed bewildered and uncertain about what to do, civil society was not slow to react. Statements and acts of solidarity with the refugees, including civil disobedience and the illegal transportation of refugees, were widespread, and within a month, the movement's membership on Facebook more than doubled (see figure 7.1, second dropline). The drama surrounding these events makes it likely that emotional reactions played a crucial role in the sudden outburst of civic action.

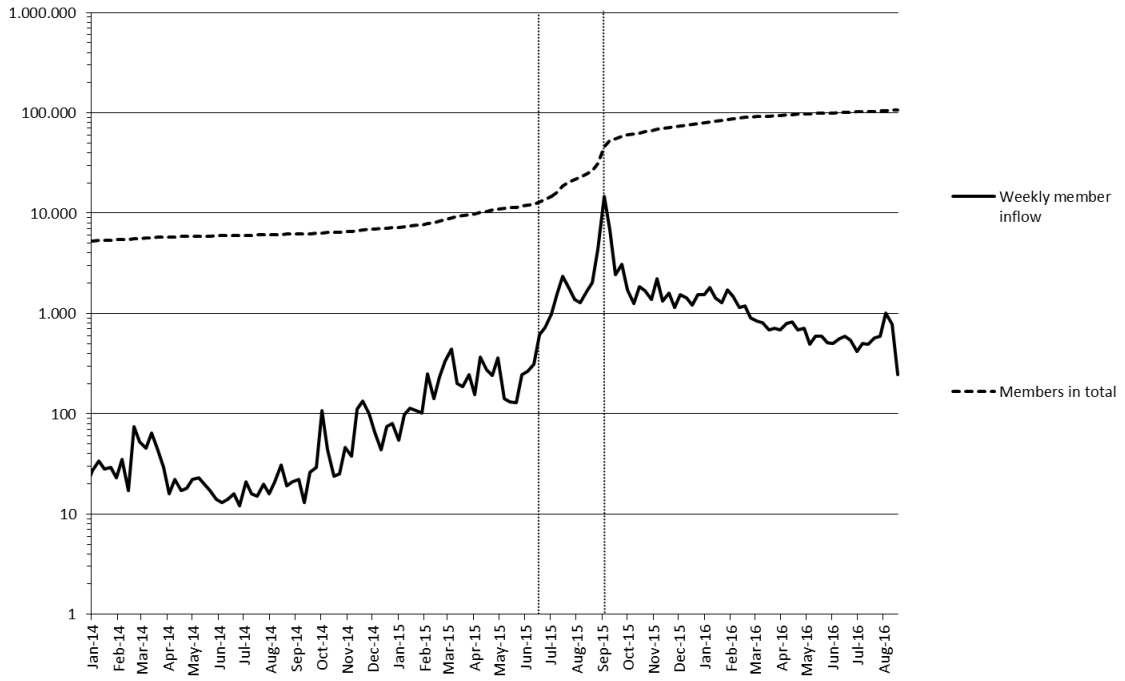
Second, since the early 1980s, the Refugee Solidarity Movement has to a varying degree performed different types of high-risk activities, such as aiding refugees who go underground, as well as low-risk activities, for instance activities aimed at cultural integration (Toubøl 2015). From 2014, an increase in the numbers of refugees arriving combined with dissatisfaction with the government's refugee policy caused increasing membership. The growth accelerated after the election of a new anti-immigration government in June 2015 (first dropline in figure 7.1), and by the September mobilization, local groups were established nationwide (Toubøl 2015; Chapter 4). The preceding build-up and development of a comprehensive movement infrastructure makes it a favorable case for an analysis of the impact of structural availability on activism.

Third, the impact of values is especially important in relation to activism in terms of movements of solidarity and compassion. In the same way, the fact that the political issues around refugees are embedded in the major political ideas of humanism and nationalism (Joas 2013) makes it likely that humanistic values act as a mobilizing force.

In the following analysis of the case, we begin in section two by positioning the study in the research field. This is followed by theoretical clarifications of the drivers to activism which are studied in this paper: networks, socialization, biographical availability, emotions and values. Sections four, five and six present data, methods and research

design. In section seven, we turn to the results, and finally in section eight, we discuss and conclude.

Figure 7.1. New movement-members on Facebook per week and cumulatively



The research field

In relation to the present study of the differentiation of activism within movements, Wiltfang and McAdam's analysis of 141 participants in the US Sanctuary Movement (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991) is especially important. The US Sanctuary Movement shares a number of characteristics with the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement. Both are refugee solidarity movements and their repertoires include similar forms of low- and high-risk activism, including the illegal transportation of refugees (Wiltfang and Cochran 1994; Coutin 1993; Cunningham 1995). Wiltfang and McAdam's work draws upon McAdam's distinction between the risks and costs involved in activism (McAdam 1986). According to Wiltfang and McAdam (1991: 989), the same activity may be characterized as, for instance, high-risk, low-cost. In the present study, costs were difficult to operationalize and we therefore restrict the analysis to the risk factor. Wiltfang and McAdam found that movement socialization is the main explanation of high-risk activism and that biographical availability carries little explanatory power (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991).

De Weerd and Klandermans' (1999) panel study of 168 Dutch farmers and a similar Dutch- Spanish study from Klandermans et al. (2002) both showed that group identifi-

cation influences preparedness to protest, which in turn influences protest behavior related to both low- and high-risk activism. Thus, the study supports the importance of socialization in relation to the movement cause. In the same vein, Stürmer et al.'s (2003) analysis of 189 members of the US fat acceptance movement and Stürmer et al.'s (1998) analysis of members of the Senior Protection League Gray Panthers, and of men committed to the gay movement, showed how collective identity influences low-risk activity.

Generally, these studies have relatively few respondents (less than 500 and often less than 200) which limit the quantitative analyses. Also, with a few exceptions, the studies have failed to distinguish between low- and high-risk. However, as argued by McAdam (1986: 67): "a plausible case could be made that the mix of structural and attitudinal factors that encourages high-risk/cost activism differs from that characteristic of low-risk/cost activism." This paper takes this argument as its starting point and analyzes the factors that influence high- and low-risk activities respectively.

The study of the Refugee Solidarity Movement differs from other studies in that it includes almost 2,000 respondents. Another difference is that we include several theoretical approaches in the same study. The division among scholars in the field is articulated in Goodwin and Jasper's (2004: vii) characterization of the state of research in social movements: "For some time the field has been roughly divided between a dominant, structural approach that emphasizes economic resources, political structures, formal organizations, and social networks and [the minor; authors] cultural constructionist tradition, drawn partly from symbolic interactionism, which focuses on frames, identities, meanings, and emotions." Belonging to what they perceived as the minor school, Goodwin and Jasper went on to argue that the dominant political process theory was tautological, trivial and inadequate (Goodwin and Jasper 2004: 4). However, two years earlier, Aminzade and McAdam had introduced a special issue of *Mobilization: an international quarterly* by stating that the emotions perspective had too much of a "narrow focus on the emotional content of sudden outbursts of crowd behavior" (Aminzade and McAdam 2002: 107), and suggested that emotions should be studied much more broadly (Aminzade and McAdam 2001). It seems that there is a clash between the two positions, but Aminzade and McAdam also paved the way for a more inclusive research strategy. They argued that scholars in the field should "reject the false dichotomy of emotions and rationality" (Aminzade and McAdam 2002: 107). A similarly conciliatory view was taken by Jasper (2011: 298), when he argued that social movement emotion theories should "balance" the theories of structure.

This paper takes the "false dichotomy" argument literally, and takes a first step towards bridging the gap between the two approaches by including hypotheses from

both camps in the same analysis. Our position is that it seems probable that a sudden event may invoke emotions in people that may induce them to be active in the movement, but it seems equally probable that previous activity in social movements, and encouragements from friends and family to participate, may also stimulate activity in a movement.

As mentioned, the two perspectives are supplemented with the values approach to movement participation (Davidov *et al.* 2008a; Deth and Scarbrough 1995a; Schwartz 1992). As argued by McAdam (McAdam 1986), it would be wrong to assume that values do not matter for activism and Wilson (Wilson 2000) has noted that more research would be desirable in this area.

Theoretical perspectives

This section presents the theoretical perspective of this study: first, we consider the dependent variables, high- and low-risk activities, and second, the independent and intervening variables related to the three different lines of theory.

High- and low-risk activism

In his seminal study of the Freedom Summer Project, McAdam (1988, 1986) distinguishes between low- and high-risk activities, and develops a theory about the latter. McAdam argues that engagement in high-risk activities results from a process where networks play a crucial role. Put briefly, the argument is that individuals rarely participate in social movement activities unless they are asked to by someone who is already engaged in movement activity (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam 1986; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; see also Schussman and Soule 2005). However, in most social movements the participants mainly perform low-risk activities, while high-risk activities are less common.

Probably due to the characteristics of the cases he studied (the Freedom Summer Project and the Sanctuary Movement), little attention was paid to low-risk activism, which was only seen as a starting point for processes leading to high-risk activism (McAdam 1986). However, since not all people are radicalized, this indicates that people performing high- and low-risk activities have different characteristics, at least to some degree, which McAdam also recognizes (McAdam 1986: 67, see also quote above). However, such issues are seldom discussed in the literature.

In this study, we categorize activities as either low- or high-risk activities. This allows us to capture how different factors influence the level of involvement in either of the two forms of activities, and to understand how they are related to each other. In line with McAdam (1986) we hypothesize that (1) *low- and high-risk activism are strongly related and that low-risk activism leads to high-risk activism*.

We now turn to an outline of the theoretical explanations of activism that we consider in this study. These encompass factors related to networks, socialization, biographical availability, emotions and values.

Networks

Networks that directly encourage the individual to participate are often referred to as *structural availability* (Schussman and Soule 2005), to denote the structural-connection function of networks (Passy 2001: 174), where networks connect potential participants to opportunities for mobilization. Such networks can consist of social relations between individuals, or they may be associative, where an organization encourages people to take part in movement activity.

The role of a network is related to the process of developing an activist identity. Networks may 'pull' a person into taking part in some kinds of activities, typically low-risk activism. The initial involvement may result in them becoming part of new networks of activists, which pull the individual towards more risky activism. During this process, an activist develops a stronger identification with the movement's ideology as she becomes part of the collective identity (Melucci 1989, 1995; Polletta and Jasper 2001) of the movement, acquires the relevant skills and habits, and aligns with the movement's culture (McAdam 1986). Thus, networks often play a central role in the process of recruiting and socializing the activist identity and associated skills. Given the assumed sequentially of low- and high-risk activism, where low- precedes high-risk, we hypothesize that (2) *network understood as structural availability influences participation in low-risk activism*.

Socialization

Reinforcing spiral processes of socialization have been shown to occur in relation to terrorism (Della Porta 1988), but also less high-risk activities, such as for instance different kinds of protests among farmers (De Weerd and Klandermans 1999; Klandermans *et al.* 2002). People who are active in one kind of political action tend to have a higher probability of being active in other kinds of activity (Klingemann and Fuchs 1995). Therefore, we expect that people who have previously been active in a social movement may also have developed varied forms of movement identity, as well as acquired skills that create a propensity to engage in activism. In particular, we envisage that people who have been previously active in refugee solidarity movements are likely to become active in that particular movement again. Not just a prior history of activism but also general engagement in voluntary associations may also increase movement participation (Dekker *et al.* 1997; Schussman and Soule 2005). Inspired by Bour-

dieu's sociology, we denote the level of engagement in voluntary associations as organizational capital. These considerations lead to the hypothesis that (3) *prior history of activism increases the likelihood of high-risk activism.*

Biographical availability

People vary in relation to what McAdam termed biographical availability, i.e., the "absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage and family responsibilities." (McAdam 1986: 70) The empirical evidence of the importance of biographical availability for movement participation is mixed and complex (Bruni 2013; Schussman and Soule 2005; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). For instance, Schussman and Soule (2005) find that particular aspects of biographical availability matter at different stages in the process of generating protest. In this study we include age, occupation and parenthood as aspects of biographical availability in order to study how each factor in itself, or in combination with the other factors, may impact movement activism. We expect that (4) *biographical availability will increase involvement in low- as well as high-risk activism*.

Emotions and moral shock

The fact that some people without any network connections or prior history of activism become engaged in activism may be explained by the concept of moral shock (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). According to Jasper (1998: 409), a moral shock occurs when "an unexpected event or piece of information raises such a sense of outrage in a person that she becomes inclined toward political action, with or without [a] network of personal contacts". The emotions involved in moral shocks may take different but related forms. As argued by Goodwin et al. (2004; Goodwin and Jasper 2004) emotions are a very broad concept, and it is important to distinguish between, for example, reflex emotions such as anger or disgust, which arise suddenly, and moral emotions such as compassion or indignation. In this study, we distinguish between compassion and a feeling of responsibility towards the refugees, as well as anger over the government's lack of an appropriate refugee policy.

We hypothesize that (5) *individuals who become morally shocked may engaging in activism without any significant prior history of activism and with few, if any, network connections*. This hypothesis constitute an alternative to the socialization hypothesis, which suggests that activism is the result of a gradual progression from low- to high-risk activism. In contrast, a moral shock may bypass this process and make people spontaneously engage in movement activity, even high-risk activism.

Values

Studies have shown that values have an impact on political participation (Deth and Scarbrough 1995a; Barnes and Kaase 1979). Values differ from emotions and political views because they are not situation and context dependent, but are instead the result of basic socialization. They are assumed to be stable across contexts and situations. One of the most well-known value studies is Shalom Schwartz's theory of basic human values. The theory has been tested in a large number of studies that generally confirm the basic elements of Schwartz's theory (Schwartz 1992; Davidov *et al.* 2008a). According to Schwartz, values are beliefs that refer to desirable goals and transcend specific situations and actions. Thus, they are predispositions to action and emotional reactions (Deth 1995).

Previous research (chapter 6) has demonstrated the relevance of specifying the relationship between basic human values and activism with the ethics of Danish philosopher K. E. Løgstrup (1997, 2007). Løgstrup argued that people who enter a relationship have an obligation to care for the Other. He calls this *the ethical demand*. The ethical demand arises out of the fact that when people interact, they always have some element of power over one another. This possession of power over the Other in the relationship creates a demand to care for the Other, because otherwise the basic trust that is necessary for us to engage in interaction and relationships in the first place would perish. To live in trust is fundamental to human social nature. Without a minimum level of trust, human beings could not engage in relationships with each another, which would make human life impossible.

Løgstrup uses the term view of life to denote the factors that determine people's propensity to act ethically and care for the Other, for instance, by spontaneously helping a refugee. If we basically recognize that our life depends on others due to the power we hold over each other in all relations, Løgstrup argues that we view life as given to us by the people we relate to. If, on the other hand, we deny this dependency, we view ourselves as what Løgstrup calls masters of our own life. The more a person views life as something given, the stronger s/he feels a responsivity to the ethical demand to care for the Other in a given situation. And, vice versa, a person who believes him or herself to be a master of their own life will be less responsive to the ethical demand (Løgstrup 1997: 127–136)[20].

The abstract ethical principles suggested by Løgstrup offer a theoretical interpretation of values as predispositions for movement activity. The two views of life correspond well with the two sets of values in Schwartz's scheme. Universalism and benevolence correspond with the idea of life as given, and achievement and power with the

[20] For a thorough discussion of Løgstrup's ethics in relation to activism, see chapter 6.

concept of master of life[21]. In conformity with Løgstrup, in Schwartz's theory, they represent two antagonistic poles of the same dimension. Life as given represents what Schwartz calls self-transcendence, which entails concern for the welfare and interests of others, and master of life corresponds to Schwartz's concept of self-enhancement, which entails self-interest (Davidov *et al.* 2008a: 424–425). In sum, we argue these values can be interpreted as being similar to Løgstrup's views of life, and that Løgstrup's ethics may serve as a plausible theorization of how values more specifically may influence involvement in the activity of a movement. Hence, we hypothesize that (6) *adherence to the value life as given directly increases the likelihood of involvement in activism and indirectly by its relationship with emotional reactions.*

Data

The Refugee Solidarity Movement has no formal membership and participation is not registered in any way. Therefore, it is not possible to assess the population for this study. However, Facebook is an essential characteristic of the movement, and in this study we limit the movement's population to people who are members of Facebook fora (here, the term fora includes both groups and sites) related to the movement (plus a few people who were contacted directly by Facebook fora members, cf. below) . These Facebook groups and sites have been the primary vehicle for organizing and coordinating the movement. Facebook is a platform for protesting and voicing opinions, confronting politicians, petitioning or organizing other activities. Therefore, in contrast to research that studies social media merely as a tool for organizing existing movement activities (Harlow 2012; Obar *et al.* 2012), Facebook is an integral part of the refugee solidarity movement. The dominance of Facebook as the medium for communication in the movement (and, as such, in Danish society), means that limiting the population to Facebook fora members in all likelihood only excludes a very small number of people who are active in the movement.

We have identified Facebook fora that are part of the movement by a keyword search[22]. A total of 310 Facebook fora were identified. The number of members ranges

[21] Definition of values: "POWER: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources. ACHIEVEMENT: Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards… UNIVERSALISM: Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. BENEVOLENCE: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact" (Davidov *et al.* 2008a: 424 table 1).

[22] Keywords: *refugee* (flygtning), *asylum* (asyl), *racism* (racism), *foreigner* (udlænding), *Venligbo* (the Danish nomination for a large and new social movement which has kindness towards refugees and others in need as its central goal), *friends of refugees* (flygtningevenner), *intercultural* (interkulturel), *the Red Cross* (Røde Kors), *the Red Cross Youth* (Røde Kors Ungdom), *the Danish Refugee Council* (Dansk Flygtningehjælp), *DFUNK* (the Danish Refugee Council's youth organization), *Frivillignet* (the Danish Refugee Council volunteer organizations), *Save The Children* (Red Barnet), *Save The Children Youth* (Red Barnet Ungdom), and *Amnesty International*.

from less than 100 to more than 40,000. The total membership counted more than 100,000 people as of June 2016, when the data collection took place. During the data collection, on more than one occasion, some Facebook fora administrators forwarded the link to the online questionnaire to people who were not on Facebook. These people were added to the coverage of the population, which enabled us to reach parts of the tiny but problematic off-Facebook sub-population.

The data collection proceeded as follows: the administrators of 310 fora were asked for permission to post a link to the survey in the Facebook fora. In total, 281 administrators reacted positively to this request, while 29 administrators either did not respond or rejected posting the link. The questionnaire consisted of 73 questions. It was accessed 16,092 times, and 2,289 people at least partially completed the questionnaire. Of these, 1,856 respondents gave valid answers to all of the items considered in this study.

It is obvious from this description that the participants in the study were self-selected as respondents, and it would be erroneous to consider them a representative sample of the movement. It seems likely that the respondents in general are more active in the movement than people who did not answer the questionnaire. Such bias is inevitable when respondents select themselves for a study. However, we are not interested in generalizing variable distributions from the sample to the population, but focus instead on the relationships between variables, and it is probable that the relationship between the variables shows less biased characteristics based on the respondents than the variable distributions would (Søgaard *et al.* 2004).

Statistical method

The focus in this study is to understand both the relationship between high- and low-risk activities, and to identify the variables that influence each (and both) of the variables, as well as their relationship. This raises a number of issues in relation to the measurement of social processes in a cross-sectional study, as well how to handle mutually reinforcing relationships between variables. This section discusses these issues and presents our way of handling them.

1) Asking respondents about the past. When studying social processes, the optimal design would be a panel study (cf. McAdam 1986; De Weerd and Klandermans 1999). However, the September mobilization was impossible to predict and we were not able to collect data before the event. Instead, the survey includes a number of questions which distinguish between before and after the September mobilization. This procedure has some methodological limitations. First, it presupposed that the respondents are able remember what they did, thought or felt about six months before the data collection took place. This may cause measurement errors, as research has documented that people often have difficulties in recalling events that took place several months

ago. Such problems are, however, more likely to occur when people are asked to remember everyday activities, while there is evidence that important emotional and personal experiences increase the likelihood of having accurate memories (Belli 2014; Bradburn *et al.* 1987; Schwarz and Oyserman 2001). The September mobilization was a unique event that is not likely to be forgotten by the people involved. Furthermore, the timing of the event was well-known to all participants. And finally, there was extremely high media exposure. Therefore, we contend that recall inaccuracies in this project may be smaller than in most other studies. Second, respondents' rationalization may cause measurement errors (Devetag 1999; Lodge and Taber 2013). The present project shares this tricky problem with many other projects, but we try to take the possible bias from rationalization into account in the interpretations of the analyses.

2) Mutually reinforcing relationships. As discussed in the theory section, it seems likely that there are mutually reinforcing interaction processes between low- and high-risk activity as well as between activities, emotions and networks in this study. Since this is a cross-sectional study, the dynamic processes challenge the analysis. In this study, we model the reinforcing process by assuming that some of the relationships between the variables are not causal but reciprocal. Furthermore, the complexity of the analysis means that we expect interaction effects between most of the variables. Additionally, as in most other survey studies, the variables in this study are measured on nominal or ordinal level and their distributions do not conform to the normal distribution. In many survey studies researchers ignore such limitations and use regression models irrespective of the violations of the assumptions about variables and their relations (Ron 2002) , but we prefer to use a different statistical method, which allows both causal and reciprocal relationships between the variables and that is able to handle nominal and ordinal variables.

The method is based on chain graphical models (Lauritzen 1996) and use the DIGRAM software (Kreiner 1986, 1987, 1996, 2003). The DIGRAM software is a probability based adaption of the principles of classic elaboration analysis (Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg 1955; Davis 1971; Aneshensel 2013)[23] . The model shares characteristics with path analysis but differs in its use of the principles of mathematical graphical models whose defining properties are captured in a mathematical graph that consists is a set of nodes and edges between nodes (empirically corresponding to variables and relationships between variables). Graphical models of discrete variables have been shown to be loglinear models (Darroch *et al.* 1980). The DIGRAM software uses these characteristics to perform an analysis of a multidimensional contingency table based on all varia-

[23] A ZIP file of the program, the user guide and examples of use may be downloaded from http://publicifsv.sund.ku.dk/~skm/, accessed December 20, 2016)

bles in the model. DIGRAM's chain graphical model technique has several advantages: 1) There are no statistical requirements for the measurement level and distribution of the variables. 2) The model can include several dependent variables at the same time. 3) All variables are included in the model from the beginning of the analysis and, 4) all interactions between the variables are included in the model.

The procedure follows strategies and techniques described by Kreiner (1986) and integrates the analyses of data with graphical theoretical analyses of Markov graphs. Initially the analysis assumes relationships between all variables. Step by step insignificant edges are deleted. After each step the significance of remaining edges are recomputed, new edges are deleted and so forth until all the remaining edges are significant and the final result is reached. Finally, the model is scrutinized in order and the edges representing relationships critical to the hypothesis are tested as well as their robustness. The significance of the test results is evaluated by Monte Carlo tests. Partial γ coefficients are used to measure the associations (Goodman- Krustall's γ is a correlation coefficient for ordinal data and partial γ-coefficients are measures of direct correlations when controlling for the other variables in the model – akin to β's in OLS multiple regressions). The final result is presented as a graph that only includes with significant edges - each characterized by a partial γ- coefficient.

Variables, operationalization and model[24]

The following section presents the variables and their relationships in the recursive block structure of the statistical model, cf. Figure 7.2.

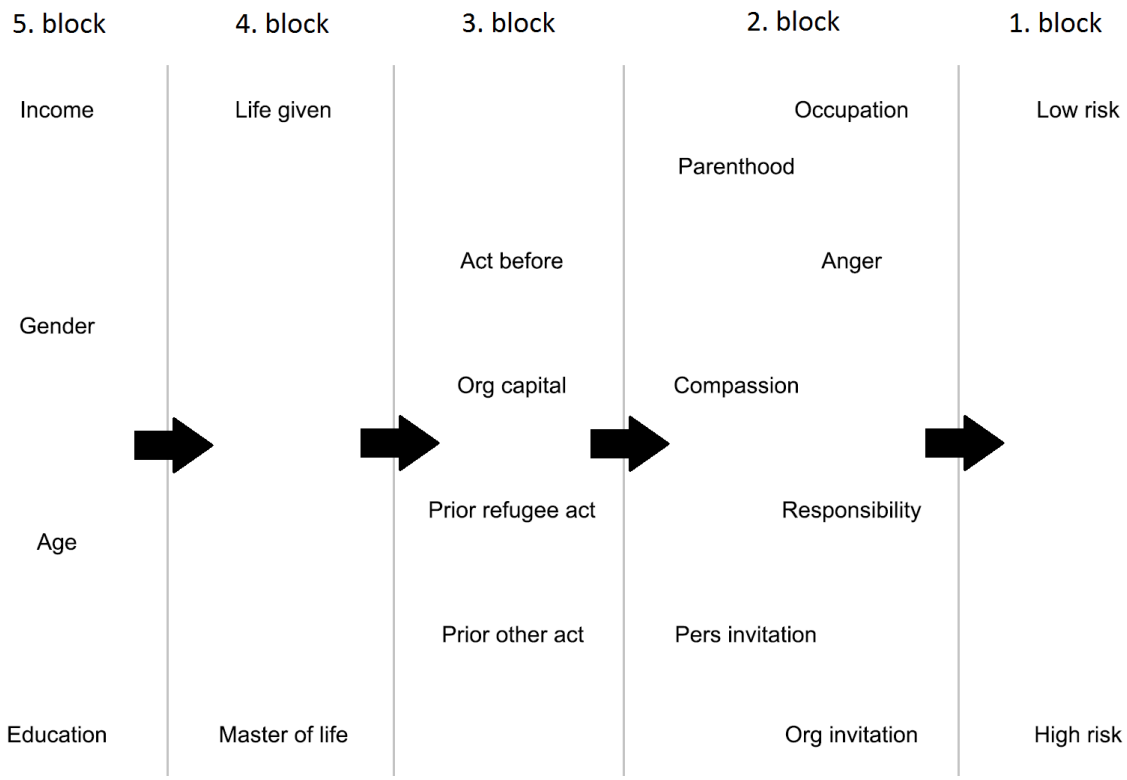
The first block on the far right-hand side includes the two dependent variables: 1) Number of kinds of *low-risk activities* and 2) number of kinds of *high-risk activities*. The variables measure of the intensity of involvement by counting the number of different kinds of low- and high-risk activities the respondent has been involved in during and after the September mobilization. The classification in the two types of risk is carried out by the objective method, which means the researcher determines the character of risk (low or high) of a given activity (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991)[25]. The two variables are based on 16 different kinds of activity. Of these, six are regarded as high-risk and ten as low-risk activity. Following the socialization hypothesis, we would assume that in most cases people will start by being engaged in low-risk activities, which may lead to high-risk activities. However, a qualitative analysis of the same case (see chapter 6) has shown that in some cases people engage in high-risk activities, such as hiding refugees from the authorities, as their first activity in the movement. This also seems

[24] See appendices for chapter 7 for summary statistic of all the variables in the final model.

[25] Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) found that it did not make a significant difference whether risk was assigned objectively (by the researcher) or subjectively (by the respondent).

plausible based on the moral shock thesis. For these reasons, the relationship is assumed to be reciprocal.

Figure 7.2. Recursive block model



Note: Vertical, grey lines indicate the blocks of variables. Arrows indicate the theoretically assumed direction of the relationship between the blocks.

The second block from the right consists of three types of variables that measure the factors that we assume have a direct influence on the decision to engage in low- and/or high-risk activism: moral shocks, structural availability and biographical availability. First, the variables based on the moral shock theory measure the emotional reactions to the events in September. The reactions included are *compassion* for the refugees, a feeling of *responsibility* to help, and *anger* against the government's lack of support for the refugees. In the questionnaire, the items are measured on a scale from one to five. We expect these emotions to be correlated with each other, and that emotional response is positively correlated with activism.

Second, we measure structural availability by two types of direct impact from the respondents' networks, by asking whether they were invited to participate in the movement's activities. We distinguish between *personal network,* measuring invitations from family, friends, or other activists and colleagues, and *organizational net-*

work, in case they were encouraged to participate by an association, for instance at meeting.

Third, two variables measure biographical availability. *Parenthood* is a binary variable, the measure of whether the respondent has children living at home. The respondent's *occupation* is designed to measure time, specifically the degree of time-consuming obligations at work. It is also binary, distinguishing between a) full-time employment and self-employment and b) other types of occupation. In line with the literature, we assume that higher biographical availability may create higher movement activity.

Block three measures activist socialization in the form of a prior history of activism and organizational capital, as well as the structural availability of the respondents, in the form of being embedded in an activist network. These variables are assumed to influence the dependent variables directly and indirectly, with the variables in the second block as intervening variables. To measure the prior history of activism, we use an question from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) that measures participation in various kinds of political activism. The question orders the activities in time, distinguishing between activities during the last year and longer ago. The data was collected 6-9 months after the September mobilization, and the item enables a measure of the history of activism prior to this. We also ask whether the prior activism was related to issues linked to the Refugee Solidarity Movement, or not. The result is two variables distinguishing between *prior activism related to refugees* and *other prior activism*. Finally, the survey also ask if the respondents were already *active before September* 2015, enabling us to distinguish between those who were already part of a refugee solidarity activist network, and thus structurally available. *Organizational capital* measures membership and level of activity in voluntary civil society associations, ranging from political parties to sports associations. This question is also based on a survey item in ISSP. We assume that all socialization variables influence the dependent variables.

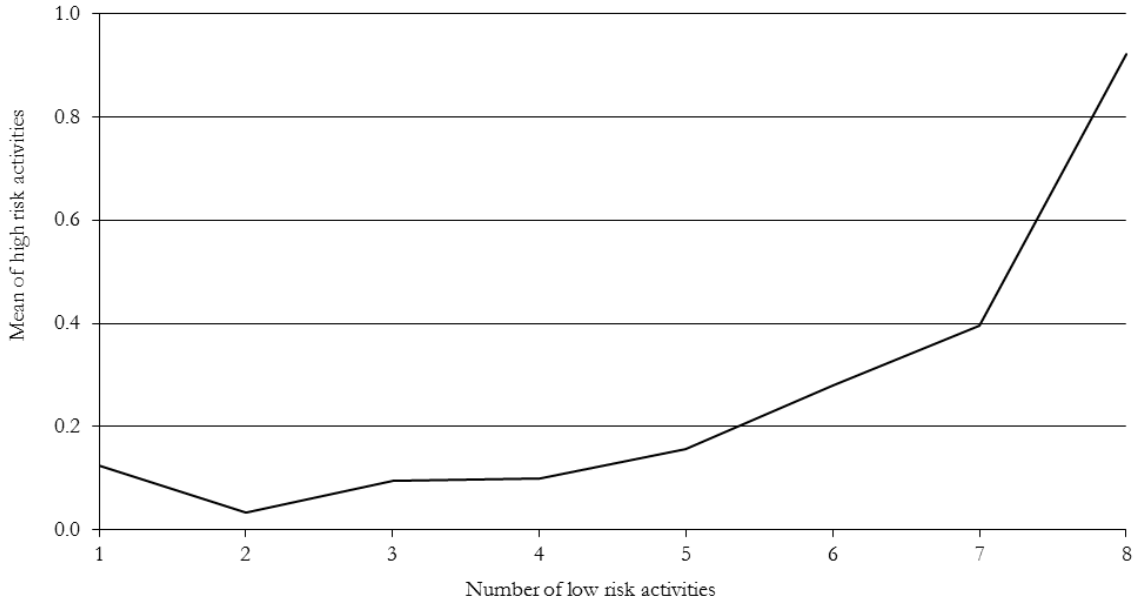
Block four consists of two variables that measure the values of the respondents. We construct the variable *life is given* using four items replicated from the basic value orientations of universalism and benevolence, and the variable *master of one's life* using four items of the basic value orientations of achievement and power. They are adopted from the European Social Survey section that measures Schwartz's human value scale, as explained in the theory section (Davidov *et al.* 2008a). We assume that the variable *life is given* but not *master of one's life* will influence the independent variables directly and indirectly.

Finally, block five consists of a number of standard background variables counting the highest attained level of *education*, personal *income*, *gender* and *age*.

Analysis and results

The statistical procedure based in graph theory takes its point of departure in the full graph (or model); i.e., by assuming that there are relationships between all variables. From this starting point, the analysis consists in deleting edges where the partial correlations are insignificant, by combining backwards and forwards model search. The results of the analysis are presented in two ways: 1) as a correlation matrix (Table 7.1) with all of the statistically significant partial correlations between all of the variables in the model, and 2) in a reduced graph model (Figure 7.4) showing the direct and primary indirect relationships to the independent variables. All the correlations are the partial γ-coefficients, i.e., correlations that are controlled for all other variables in the model. The presentation of the results follows the six hypothesis.

Figure 7.3. The mean number of high-risk activities by number of low-risk activities



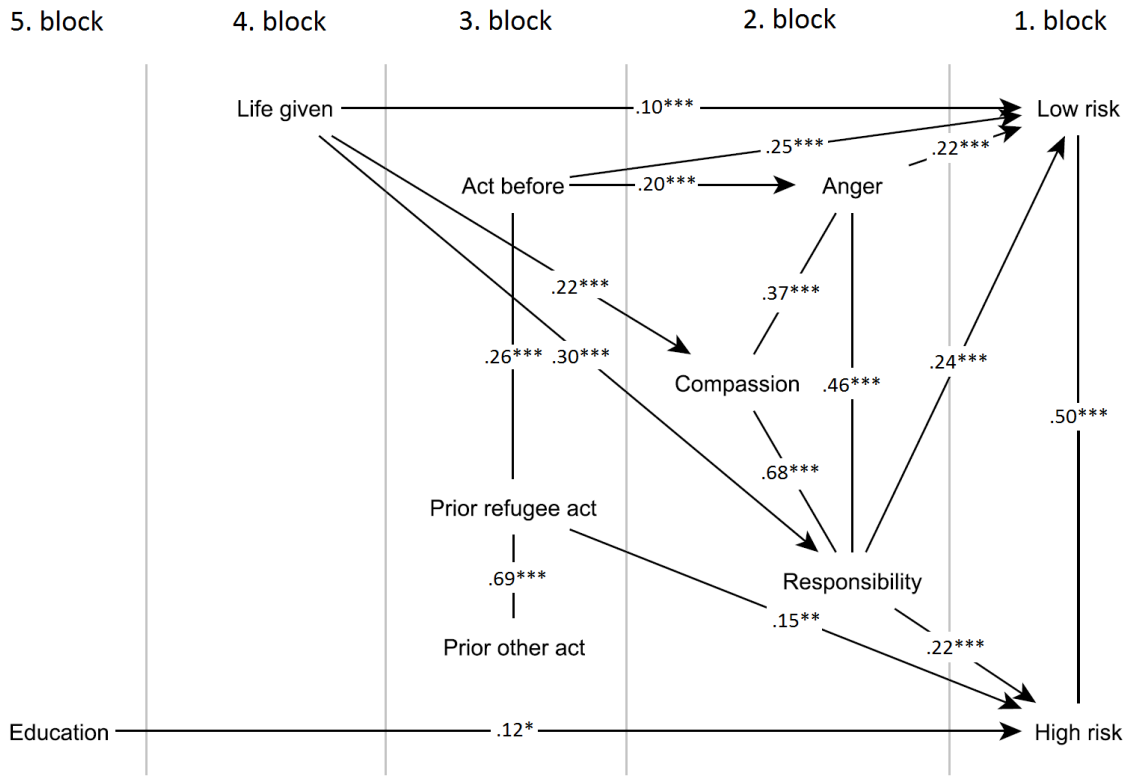
Hypothesis 1 asserted that *low- and high-risk activism are strongly related and that low-risk activism leads to high-risk activism*. The correlation between high- and low-risk activity is, as expected, very strong ($\gamma=0.50$, $p<0.001$), and as figure 7.3 shows, it is slightly curvilinear. For people who have participated in three or more activities, the relationship accelerates. This indicates that people who perform several low-risk activities also perform several high-risk activities. This supports hypothesis 1[26].However the analysis also shows that even among people who generally perform very few low-risk activities, some have also performed high-risk activities. This modifies hypothesis 1 and

[26] The number of respondents who performed eight low-risk activities is 135. Of these, 35 respondents performed two or more high-risk activities.

supports the mentioned qualitative evidence that in relatively few cases, people may perform high-risk activities such as hiding refugees even though they have not previously been active.

Hypothesis 2 stated that *network understood as structural availability influences participation in low-risk activism*. The level of involvement in low-risk activities is positively correlated with structural availability measured as being part of an activist network prior to the events in September. However, the other measures of network – organizational network, personal network, and organizational capital – have no direct or indirect effect which is surprising given the salience of network explanations in the literature. This is not expected in the hypothesis and points to a need to differentiate between different kinds of network. We should also note that it cannot be concluded that network does not play a more important role in the process of initial recruitment which the is the object of the referenced studies, which find strong effects of structural availability.

Figure 7.4. Graph of relationships with path length to independent variables ≤ 2



Note: Vertical grey lines indicate the recursive block structure. Edges indicate relationships. If relationships are asymmetric, arrrowheads indicate the direction of relationship. Numbers indicate partial γ-coefficients and * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001.

Table 7.1. Statistically significant partial γ-coefficients

	Variables	A	b	C	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	L	m	n	o	p	q	r
a	Low-risk activity																		
b	High-risk activity	.50***																	
c	Compassion																		
d	Responsibility	.24***	.22***	.68***															
e	Anger	.22***		.37***	.46***														
f	Personal invitation																		
g	Organizational invitation					-.20**	.45***												
h	Occupation																		
i	Parenthood																		
j	Active before Sept.	.25***				.20***													
k	Previous refugee act.		.15**								.26***								
l	Previous other act.											.69***							
m	Organizational capital						.11**		-.17***										
n	Life is given	.10***		.22***	.30***		.11**							-.06**					
o	Master of life													-.06**					
p	Income								-.68***	.24***				.10*		.15***			
q	Education		.12*				-.20**								-0.9***	-.08**	.43***		
r	Gender			-.35***								.06**			-.12**		.18**		
s	Age									-.59***			.09**		-.11***	-.20***	.16**	-.17***	.13***

Notes: Solid vertical and horizontal lines delimit the recursive block structure. Correlations in the diagonal of the block structure represent symmetric relations and correlations below the diagonal represent directed relationships.
* = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001.

Turning to the question of socialization and the hypothesis that *prior history of activism increases the likelihood of high-risk activism*, the results support the hypothesis. It is, however, only prior activism in relation to the refugee issue that has direct effect on high risk activism, whereas the effect of other prior activism is indirect, mediated by the very strong symmetrical relationship with prior activism related to refugees. This suggests that the hypothesis should be modified to stipulate that only prior history of issue specific activism has an direct positive effect on high-risk activism.

The hypothesis that *biographical availability will increase involvement in low- as well as high-risk activism* cannot be cooperated by the results. None of the measures of biographical availability have significant relations direct or indirect to the dependent variable. The rejection of the hypothesis however, is only related to the question of differential recruitment and not recruitment per se. This suggests that if biographical availability matters, it is to initial recruitment only and (e.g. Schussman and Soule 2005) not to differentiation among activists within movements.

Hypothesis five which suggest that *individuals who become morally shocked may engaging in activism without any significant prior history of activism and with few, if any, network connections*, is overall supported. The emotional reactions of anger and responsibility are strongly correlated with the dependent variables and compassion is strongly associated with anger and responsibility suggesting an indirect effect. Where both anger and responsibility is related to low risk activism only responsibility influences involvement in high risk activism, suggesting that moral shocks is more likely to lead to low risk activism, whereas high risk activism is the result of other processes. Furthermore, and contradicting the hypothesis, the effect of anger in part depends on network embeddedness as measured by active before September. Thus, if you were already member of an activist network before the September Mobilization you were significantly more likely to react with anger which would increase the likelihood of engaging in low-risk activism. This result and its implications for our understanding of moral shocks and emotional response will be discussed below.

Finally, that *adherence to the value life as given directly increases the likelihood of involvement in activism and indirectly by its relationship with emotional reactions* is in general confirmed. The direct effect on low risk activism is, however, not very strong ($\gamma=0.10$; $p<0.001$). On high risk activism the effect is only indirect and mediated by the emotional reactions. With a relatively strong effect on compassion and responsibility, the indirect effect on low- and high risk activism is substantial. Thus, the results modify the hypothesis in the sense that in relation to both dependent variables, the indirect effect through emotional reaction is the most important, even though there is a direct effect on low risk activism.

Finally, comparing low- and high risk activism, the results suggest that being part of an activist network as events unfold – to be in the flow of things – pulls people into low-risk activities due to structural availability. In contrast, high-risk activism seems to depend on embodied structures of strong identification with the cause as suggested by the strong correlation with feeling responsible, and the possession of the relevant skills, due to an extensive history of prior activism. This finding also suggests that our interpretation of the relation between the dependent variables is correct in the sense that the more common pattern is that low-risk activism precedes high-risk activism. The level of involvement in both low- and high-risk activities is influenced by the emotional response of the activist. However, low-risk activity is more influenced by emotional factors as well as a predisposition in the form of values, than high risk activism.

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Conclusion and discussion

Based on data from 1,856 survey participants recruited via Facebook, this chapter studied drivers for activism in the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement. The number of supporters exploded in September 2015, when several hundred thousands of refugees came to Europe, including Denmark. The study focuses on within movement differentiation between low- and high-risk activism. It analyses in one statistical model three sets of drivers for activism that are related to three different lines of theory, which have previously been treated separately in most of the literature: drivers related to the first line are networks, socialization and biographical availability. The second line focuses on emotions and moral shocks, and the third line on how predisposition in the form of values drives activism.

Overall, the chapter provides two main results. First, the study has shown that it is fruitful to combine these three theoretical approaches, which have previously been seen as conflicting. The case was designed to make it possible to study the explanations as complementary, and not opposing explanations. The mobilization in the autumn of

2015 was triggered by the arrival of a high number of refugees who unexpectedly came to Denmark (as well as other countries in Europe), but even before this happened, a refugee solidarity movement already existed and had been building up for some time. Therefore, in the same study we were able to include both theories of the sudden outburst of activity due to moral shocks as well as theories that focus on existing networks and socialization. Furthermore, in the study we supplemented these two theoretical lines of research with variables on the importance of dispositions, in the form of basic human values, for activity in a movement. We have not only shown that factors related to all three bodies of theory impact the levels of activism, but also how the factors interact and mediate the effects of each other. The theoretical conclusion is that it is rewarding to elaborate existing theories in order to integrate them in theoretical frameworks that do justice to the partial validity of all three approaches. To accomplish this, we need more studies that focus on the interplay between the different drivers in relation not just to within movement differentiation, but also to recruitment and other movement characteristics.

Second, the repertoire of the refugee solidarity movement enables analyses of both high- and low-risk activism in the same study. Some participants in the movement performed illegal, high-risk activities, such as helping refugees across the border to other countries, but the bulk of activity involved low-risk activities such as petitioning, assisting refugees in legal matters, or providing food, clothes and medicine. In the following, we state the results for low and high risk separately. Low-risk activism is best explained by 1) emotional reactions to the events taking place, 2) the structural availability in the sense of being active and thereby part of an activist network, and 3) basic human values or what we, with Løgstrup, have conceptualized as a view of life as given. Considering the indirect effects, three drivers interact in two different ways: 1) The emotional response of anger to the situation partially depends on being part of the movement previously, implying that those who were already embedded in an activist network tend to respond with more anger against the authorities than those who first became active during the September mobilization. A likely interpretation is that those who were active prior to the events of September, and who identify more strongly with the cause, are more aware of the political setup and tend to react with more anger against the authorities' handling of the situation. 2) The feeling of responsibility partially depends on the adherence to the value of viewing life as given. Viewing life as given entails being aware of the extent to which the fortune of different individuals depends on the actions of each other. It is hardly surprising that such a basic interpretive frame entails a strong feeling of responsibility for what happens to other people and in this light the interaction makes sense. In sum, these results provide a more nuanced and detailed

look into the processes and mechanisms of getting involved in activism. In addition, they clearly indicate that the drivers related to the three lines of theory dealt with in this chapter do not operate independently of each another. Rather, the interactions reveal that they are part of the same processes.

High-risk activism is best explained as resulting from 1) a feeling of responsibility and 2) a prior history of activism in relation to the refuge issue. Interestingly, a prior history of activism related to other issues only has an indirect effect. This suggests that what matters is movement socialization, which is assumed to involve the development of an activist identity and skills that are related specifically to the relevant movement – not just skills in activism in general. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that the degree of involvement in high- and low-risk activities is strongly correlated, indicating that in most, but not all, cases, high-risk activity is the result of previous low-risk activity. Interesting, the emotion of responsibility to help refugees has a notable direct impact on activity but it also functions as an intervening variable between life as given and both types of activity. The finding suggests that the feeling of the responsibility in relation to what happens to refugees may be a more basic emotion in relation for activity than anger and compassion.

Overall, the analysis reveals a process of getting involved in activism in which there is a central distinction between the more stable factors, such as values, socialization and structural availability, and the more situation-specific factors, like emotional responses of anger and responsibility. The distinction suggests that their explanatory roles in provoking activism are somewhat different, but the results reveal that they also interact, and their effects partially depend on each another. This distinction and the preliminary results presented in this study may serve as a starting point for working towards an integrative theoretical framework of the process of activist recruitment that combines theories of predisposition, network and socialization, and emotions. The findings of this papers and the results of the hypothesis scrutinized provides a starting point for such an endeavor.

8. The consequences of group style for individual participation in political protest: from frame alignment and network to group interaction

Co-authored with Ph.D.-Fellow Hjalmar Bang Carlsen and Ph.D.-Fellow Snorre Ralund, both University of Copenhagen, Department of Sociology

This chapter proposes a theory of how interaction in groups influences activists' probability of engaging in different kinds of collective action. Current social research often conflates group interaction with either network embeddedness or social movement organization framing. In line with recent ethnographic turns within political sociology, we instead argue that group the group and its culture emerge as patterns of interaction. We support our theory with four statistical tests drawing on a survey of the Danish refugee solidarity movement with 2,283 respondents. This survey is combined with data of the totality of online interaction in 119 Facebook groups. Through content analysis using supervised machine learning, we estimate the variation in group styles along the dimension of contentiousness. The statistical analyses show that group style explains the individual's degree of participation in political protest better than network embeddedness and group framing.

Introduction

The group is ubiquitous in social movement theory, where individuals join in groups to handle local issues, protest for wider social change, and ensure public goods. Many seminal small N studies of social movements that pay attention to the internal dynamics and processes of groups or social movement organization's (SMO) (e.g. Coutin 1993; Epstein 1991; Lichterman 1996; McAdam 1988; Teske 1997; Whittier 1997) and a number of prominent theories that stress the importance of group processes (e.g. Hirsch 1990; McAdam 1986, 1999a, Melucci 1989, 1996). However, what goes on inside social movement groups and the consequences hereof, has not been sufficiently theoretically specified. Two conceptions of the group dominates the literature: The first is the group as a Social Movement Organization (SMO). Here the group is viewed as a collective actor that defines itself and its repertoire of action through processes of framing. Focus is on the agency of the group as an actor that self-consciously and in a strategic manner frames itself in order to advance its goals (Benford and Snow 2000; Snow *et al.* 1986; Snow and Benford 1988, 1992). The second perspective views the group as a network constituted of the individual activists' dyadic relations. Here, strong and weak ties lead to different forms of activism. The degree of the individual's network integra-

tion is taken as a measure of the individual's willingness to carry out activities of high risk and cost as the strength of integration in the networks is assumed to be equal to the strength of identification with the group's overall goals and ideology (e.g. Della Porta 1988; McAdam 1986). A third approach to studying the group has recently been formulated: Here patterns of interaction within groups take center stage in understanding movement processes (Becker 1999; Blee 2012; Eliasoph 1998; Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003; Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014). However, this new perspective lacks studies showing that group interaction has consequences beyond the internal group culture and practice. This paper presents an attempt at such a study.

To show that patterns of group interaction have consequences for the conduct of activists and the movement, we develop a theory of how patterns of interaction in groups influence differential recruitment to collective action and thereby shape the movement's overall repertoire of action. We investigate patterns of interaction as a distinct meso level of analysis (see Fine 2012). Our focus is on how patterns of interaction within a group setting when stabilized constitute a local order that we, following Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003), call group style. Our theoretical proposition is that group styles, through a process of encoding certain habits of thought and action in the individual activist's body, influences the activist's mode of action in and beyond the group setting. Thus, we argue that group style will influence what type of collective action individual activists participate in and thereby differential recruitment. Furthermore, we argue that this encoding also is likely to shape the activist's involvement in activism at later moments in time and other settings than the group. Theoretically, this involves three important distinctions: First, the important concept of the network must be separated from the concept of the group. As a theoretical concept, network concerns structural availability derived from observations of dyadic relationships and not the content of interactions and the group level style they constitute. Second, we argue that group style proposes an understanding of the group and how it influences the movement's repertoire that is different from framing. Where group interaction concerns interaction inside the group, framing is undertaken by the group as a collective actor, that is, the SMO, typically represented by its leadership that act on behalf of the collective that is reified as an entity rather than a group of interacting individuals. Thirdly, we specify how group style has consequences for the individual's participation in collective action, through the three processes of 1) filtering and qualifying activities and information, 2) encoding habits of action and thought in the group members, and 3) capturing and attuning the activist to certain aspects of the issue.

To empirically substantiate these theoretical propositions, we undertake a large N study of variation in group style along the dimension of contentiousness and its conse-

quences for the individual group members degree of involvement in political protest. This strategy is chosen because it allows for testing of the relative generality of our hypotheses and to make up for the lack of such large N studies of internal group dynamics in the social movement studies in the aggregate. This is achieved by developing a research design that combines survey data with social media data. We have surveyed 2,283 activists in the movement recruited by posting links to the questionnaire in Facebook groups associated with the movement. In parallel, we used supervised machine learning and natural language processing to analyze the interaction in 119 groups in the form of >640,000 posts and comments on Facebook.

We find that the level of contentiousness of the group style in the Facebook groups strongly influences the likelihood of the individual participating in political protest. At the same time, the framing of the Facebook group which we operationalize as the official description of the Facebook group visible to potential members still matters, but the effect is comparatively small. The same is the case for network, which is measured as both personal and organizational ties in relation to initial recruitment, embeddedness in civil society, and embeddedness in the movement itself. Only embeddedness in political civil society and the movement itself has statistically significant effects. This overall finding supports the main theoretical proposition, namely that group style matters for differential recruitment. Furthermore, we find that the effect differs with regard to the level of the activist's history of activism, revealing that experienced activists are more resilient to the effects of group style than non-experienced activists. We also find that the effect of group style not only pertains to in-group activities but also affects the individual's choice of activities beyond the group, although to a lesser extent. These additional findings support the theoretical hypotheses developed in the theory section below.

The empirical case is the Danish refugee solidarity movement, which tries to help refugees in Denmark, and constitutes the largest mobilization of civil society in recent Danish history. The movement is significant and exemplary in at least two ways. First, the movement is an important player in the Danish political landscape because it is concerned with the issues of immigration and refugees which have been among the most contested issues in Danish as well as European politics for decades (Green-Pedersen and Krogstrup 2008; Green-Pedersen and Odmalm 2008; Kaarsen 2015; Rydgren 2004, 2010). In Denmark, lawmakers for decades have implemented regulations making it harder for refugees and immigrants to obtain legal residence in Denmark (Bræmer 2010; Fenger-Grøn and Grøndahl 2004) in tandem with the discourse becoming more hostile to refugees (Holm 2006; Mihai 2011; Vitus and Lidén 2010). Thus, the movement is party to one of the most important political conflicts in West-

ern societies. Second, Facebook is an integral part of the refugee solidarity movement and the dominant vehicle for organizing and mobilizing. As will be explained in the extended case description below, this is due in part to Facebook being the dominant social media in Denmark (Tassy 2016). For these reasons, interaction in Facebook groups is likely to be a valid measure of variation in style of group interaction in the movement.

In section 2, we first outline our theoretical propositions by explaining what we mean by group style, how it distinguishes itself from network and framing, and how it influences differential recruitment. Section 3 introduces the case by explaining the political and historical context, the status of social media, and not least, exemplifying the online interaction that takes place in the Facebook groups. The qualitative observations concerning group style and its relation to activities motivates the subsequent statistical analysis. Section 4 concerns the research design that combines survey data and "big" social media data in four tests designed to establish the relationship between group interaction and individual activity, as well as the heterogeneity of this relationship. Section 5 presents the results which are discussed in relation to theoretical propositions in section six.

Theory

In this section, we will make three theoretical arguments, namely that group interaction should not be conflated with 1) social networks or 2) SMO framing, and furthermore that 3) group style influences what kind of activity the individual activist engages in, that is, differential recruitment.

Explanations of variation of collective action repertoires can be divided into micro, meso, and macro levels. The research program around repertoires of contention (Tilly 1978), political opportunity structures (McAdam 1999a), and protest cycles (Tarrow 1989, 1991) are all interested in variation in the forms and intensities of activism over time, given changes in the macro-level conditions. Micro-level explanation focuses on the history of activism (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), pre-disposition, and attitudes (Deth and Scarbrough 1995b; Chapter 7) and emotions (Goodwin *et al.* 2009; Jasper 2008; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Polletta 1998).

The meso level has in much political sociology focused on how processes of SMO framing (Babb 1996; Benford and Snow 2000; Snow *et al.* 1986), group culture (Coutin 1993; Melucci 1995), and the degree of network embeddedness (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; González-Bailón *et al.* 2011; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Snow *et al.* 1980; Steinert-Threlkeld 2017) influence the individual's recruitment to different types of activism. This meso level of analysis has proved successful in connecting the micro and macro level (e.g. Hirsch 1990; Taylor and Whittier 1992), but, we will argue, too

much uniform agency within the SMO has been assumed, and it is imprecise to conflate the group with the network.

Instead of the network and framing aspect, we focus on the interactional aspect. This aspect we specify by the concept of group style (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003) which is the group members' shared understanding of a situation and system of typifications and relevances (Schutz 1975: 82). The empirical expression of group style is the recurring and relatively stable patterns of interaction. Because group style is the members shared understanding of a situation and system of typifications and relevances, the style is likely to have consequences for what kind of collective action the in which members organize and participate. This is quite different from the way in which network and SMO framing influences involvement in action which we now will explain in detail.

'Group interaction' is not network structure

There are two main differences between a group style perspective and a network perspective on groups. First, the former focuses on the co-presence of interacting actors within a certain setting and on the content of interaction, whereas the latter identifies the structure of the dyadic relationships between the group members. Network analysis has given political sociologists the means to locate group-like entities such as cliques or clans systematically. However, the aggregation of dyadic relations into structural entities is, however, not the same as an interacting group.

Group interaction is focused on actors being co-present, where one's actions are displayed to the group rather than a single relation within the group. Interaction in groups is situational in the Goffmanian sense—happening within an environment where the gathering can monitor it and where the actor can adjust her behavior to the setting. Eliasoph captures this well in her work on civic groups, where members could speak of entirely different things backstage than they could front stage, because the group style allowed for only certain forms of interaction (Eliasoph 1998). Therefore, networks are different from groups because the group setting constitutes its own context of interaction, where the network may capture only the relational structure.

Second, the focus on group interaction also foregrounds the patterns of discourse created through interaction. Typically, the content of the relations constituting the ties of a network are black-boxed (Erikson 2013; Mische and White 1998). Although studies have shown the importance of differentiating between weak and strong ties in explaining recruitment to different forms of activism (e.g. Passy 2001), it is equally important to understand what practices those relations are made of. Habitual ways of talking and acting toward an issue together with others make certain lines of action more probable than others (Gross 2009), which is what group style enables us to analyze.

'Group interaction' is not identical to SMO framing

There are several important differences, both theoretically and methodologically, between group style and framing. SMO framing literature is concerned primarily with public representation and relations of a movement in its attempts to win legitimacy and attract members through processes of frame alignment (Snow *et al.* 1986). A focus on group interaction, on the other hand, centers on the patterns of interaction and problem solving. Thus, we have a difference between internal interaction patterns and external communication and action strategies. This difference can be quite profound as Eliasoph & Lichterman (2003) show in their ethnographic work.

The perspective of group style offers a way to remedy what Benford (1997) calls the static and reifying tendencies within the framing literature. According to Benford, much of the framing literature focuses on how SMOs interpret and act on issues. However, it thereby neglects the variety of actions and interpretations performed by actors within SMOs. This becomes especially problematic when activists are not simply "joiners" of highly structured organizations, but rather the constitutive force of multiple small activist groups that make up the movement. In contrast to the reified version of framing, group style does not determine an activist's mobilization, rather, they bring to the fore certain aspects of issues, create certain political sensibilities, and cultivate certain habits of action that, in combination with the macro- and micro-level factors, may affect collective action.

Group interaction and action repertoire

Our contribution to the group style perspective is to theorize three processes through which group style leads to different probabilities of engaging in different forms of collective action. These processes constitute our theoretical hypothesis that we will submit to statistical analyses in the subsequent sections. In the following, we argue that group style has consequences for individual's participation in collective action because by constituting the members shared understanding of a situation and system of typifications and relevances it 1) filters and qualifies information and activities, 2) encodes habit of thought and action, and 3) captures and attunes activists to certain aspects of the refugee issue.

1. Filtering and qualifying activities and information

If one does not have information on an event, then surely it is impossible to join it, unless by coincidence. This is also why social movement scholars have been so interested in network, which shows that actors' embedding in civil society or their friendship with activists play an important role in both differential recruitment and mobilization (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Schussman and Soule

2005). However, the context in which one is being asked or gets information about a collective action event is crucial as well. In a situation, to gain relevance, information must be formatted in a way that fits the situation (Thévenot 2007). This implies that in a group, ill-placed recruitment attempts not in alignment with the group style can either constitute a breach or be ignored as noise. In other words, to be successful, an invitation to a collective action must be aligned with the group style. This implies that we expect that the individuals in a group are more likely to participate in collective action that is in line with the group style. For instance, if the group style is very non-contentious we expect that non-contentious activities gain prominence and gain participants whereas contentious activities like political protests have lesser status or are simply ignored.

2. Encoding habits of action and thought

From being part of a group style, actors develop habits of thought and action in relation to specific issues. We follow the pragmatist conception of habits as arts or competences rather than mere behavioral repetition. For instance, one must learn how to think and talk contentiously about the refugee situation. This is learned through situational tests in which actors learn what principles should be used in denunciation (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006), what repertoires of action are appropriate and efficient, and so on. Interaction within groups provides an essential resource and testing ground for learning how to practice refugee activism. Interacting with fellow activists whom you know, trust, and assign worth to, makes your collective practices even more important for the development of enduring habits of action. This idea of habits invokes a sequential explanation where the habits acquired through past activism make certain responses to present situations more probable (Gross 2009). This implies that we expect that a history of activism will mediate the influence of present group styles. For instance, when entering a new group, an activist with a long history of activism will, to a lesser degree, align her choice of activities with the group style than a novice activist who is just beginning to develop habits of thought and action in relation to activism in the group style of which she is a part.

3. Capturing and attuning the activist

Where the habits of action are historical, attunement works within the present. Group style sets activists in certain "moods" where certain things become natural and effortless while others seem a hurdle (Silver 2011). Group style around an issue makes an actor become engrossed in certain practices while distanced from others. However, where habits are more concerned with the skills acquired through recurrent practices, attunement is concerned with the orientation of the actor in an evolving present. The group style, which resides in a specific setting, extends its reach and becomes how the

activist relates to the political context in general and outside the group, where certain things stand out, and others become background (Silver 2011). This process can both be very practical where, for instance, the more humanitarian action one does, the more humanitarian problems one encounters and the fewer resources are available for participating in political protest. It may also be more proactive, as when actors are flow of action where every problem is translated into a question of what can I do here and now to help the unfortunate suffering. In this flow, the possibility of translating problems into political critique leading to political protest is not even considered. Therefore, we expect that the group style not only influences the individual's activities in the group, but also outside the group, however to a lesser extent due to the influence of the patterns of interaction of the other settings.

The three processes outlined all point to how group style may influence individual activity and, therefore, the action repertoire of a group and, taken together, a movement. Below, we shall empirically examine these relationships between group style and political protest through four empirical tests. Before this, we need to introduce the case that is our object of study, namely the September Mobilization of the Danish refugee solidarity movement, to provide context and case-specific background for the research design as well as the theoretical interpretation of the results.

Case: the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement

The Danish refugee solidarity movement is a strategic case for analyzing how group style matters for the individual's participation in collective action for the following reasons: First, the movement is organized in small informal grass-root groups which theoretically makes the analysis of group interaction even more important (Blee 2012). Second, Facebook groups are the dominant organizational tool in the movement which enables us to study the group styles of the movement in the aggregate, because we can collect data of all interaction in the Facebook groups. Third, typical of humanitarian movements (Boltanski 1999; Eliasoph 2013), the major division in the movement is about choosing a contentious or a purely humanitarian and non-contentious strategy. This motivates our choice of this dimension for analyzing variation in group style and its correlation with individual participation in political protest. Fourth, in relation to the so-called European refugee crisis, in September 2015 and the subsequent months, the movement experienced a massive mobilization. This event, which affected all in the movement, provides a reference point that enables us to inquire retrospectively with precision—using a survey tool—into the processes of recruitment and the activities in relation to that event. Below, these characteristics of the case are explained. The movement has received little attention from researchers, and we rely on the second

author's knowledge of the movement which he has accumulated through several years of fieldwork, in-depth interviews with activists, and background research (see this dissertation).

Grassroots organized in Facebook groups

The Danish refugee solidarity movement consists of people who act out of solidarity with refugees to aid them in their efforts to obtain asylum status and settle down and integrate into Danish society, but also to advocate on behalf of the refugees' rights and affect political reform of the laws regulating immigration. Besides a few large professionalized NGO's, the movement mainly consists of small, local, grass-root groups with little if any formal organization or hierarchy. These groups are almost without exception present on Facebook, and Facebook has become an integrated element in the way the movement organizes itself. There are at least three important reasons for this: 1) Most Danes use social media and in particular Facebook. In Denmark, 67% of the total population aged 16-89 use Facebook, and when looking only at Internet users, at least 96% are Facebook users (Tassy 2016). 2). Facebook is integral to the largest faction of the movement called The Friendly People, which during 2015 were diffused from a single local group in the countryside to being a national phenomenon with groups in all municipalities of Denmark and tens of thousands of supporters. 3) During the explosive September Mobilization 2015 (more on that below), Facebook became the default platform for communicating and coordinating among the activists—new and old. Thus, in the collective experience and memory of the September Mobilization, Facebook was an integral element. For these reasons in addition to the well-known advantages for mobilization and communication in social movements (González-Bailón *et al.* 2011; Harlow 2012; Howard *et al.* 2011; Obar *et al.* 2012; Wolfsfeld *et al.* 2013), the movement went online during 2015 and thereby it offers itself as a strategic research site for analyzing social media group interaction.

The dimension of contentiousness

The central dimension along which the groups are differentiated is the degree to which the refugee issue should be approached in a purely humanitarian and non-contentious way and a more contentious manner based on critiques of other actors such as the state and government. This question becomes even more important when we consider the fact that the political issue of immigration and refugees in recent decades has become one of the most contended in Danish (Green-Pedersen and Krogstrup 2008; Kaarsen 2015) and European politics (Geddes and Sholten 2016; Koopmans *et al.* 2005). This implies that simply helping refugees, even from purely humanitarian motives, may be and often is seen by spectators as taking a stand in a heated and polarizing debate. That

this is the case is substantiated by media reports of harassment of volunteers who did not participate in political protest but simply aided the refugees on a purely humanitarian level and in fully legal ways (e.g. Marstrand-Jørgensen 2016; Rosenquist 2015). Thus, in the present political situations, it seems that a turn to a more contentious approach is associated with a larger risk.

This division is also evident when we consider the variation in how the groups frame themselves. An example of a non-contentious approach is the group, The Friendly People. The non-contentious nature of their approach to the issue is expressed in this quote from the group's description on Facebook:

> 'We do not consider why the asylum seekers are here, or IF they should be here. We relate to THE FACT that they are here. So we leave it to the authorities to assess IF they have the right to be here. Until this decision, we are friendly and welcoming to them—this we believe is to show ordinary humanity and decency.'

Here it is made clear that what is in focus is the relationship with the refugees here and now—not the causes of the future consequences of Danish immigration policies or other human constructs for the refugee. Because the issue is a heated political battleground, the strategy and framing of the Friendly People may seem quite peculiar, and it is also true that several other groups in the movement use a contentious framing. Typically, they combine the humanitarian aspect with a need for contentious action aimed at altering the political regulation. An example is from the official description from the Facebook site of the activist group, Welcome to Denmark:

> 'We emerged spontaneously from an individual and collective feeling that refugees and immigrants deserve to be greeted with open arms. There is a need for action. The EU's asylum policies do not work, and the political leaders will not assume responsibility.
>
> Come and help us create a Denmark where we meet refugees with respect and care.'

Not only in relation to framing, but also in the group interaction we find that the degree of contentiousness is an important dimension. One is example is the original Friendly People group, whose style is highly non-contentious and positive. Here, friendliness in group interaction plays a central role both as a style of interaction and as an issue in and of itself. In this friendly and non-contentious style. A great variety of things are "wonderful," "friendly," and "life-affirming." These adjectives are used in the description of refugees seeking a job, humanitarian work, fellow activist, and readings, among many others. The horror of the suffering refugees is largely absent, and the in-

teraction is filled with positivity and possibility. The same goes for the political other; those who do not help refugees. The most dramatic illustration of this is the near lack of reference to any of the many politicians and parties hostile to immigrants that during the period of study were elected to the Danish parliament. When such rare posts rarely occurred, they were not applauded through likes or comments—they were ignored. Not even ironic depictions of absurdly unfriendly activity received any attention. There is only one reference to the large national conservative and anti-immigration party Danish People's Party (DPP), and this is in a comment in which the author states her dislike of the us/them distinctions and illustrates the fruitfulness of friendliness through her pleasant experience with a DPP representative resulting from her initial friendliness. That the style backgrounds certain things and foregrounds others also seem to have consequences for recruitment to collective action. While, for instance, events such as Christmas parties bringing Danes and refugees together in celebration were hugely popular, the biggest national refugee political protest event in relation to the European refugee crisis in the fall 2015, a massive demonstration attended by tens of thousands, receiving massive media attention, was largely ignored despite the event being shared in the group (see appendix 8.1 for full summary of the case-analysis).

These findings from a case analysis of the online interaction in the Facebook groups exemplify how group style in the Facebook groups filters information and attunes the activists and how contention is a central dimension of variation in group style, as also found in other studies of humanitarian movements (Boltanski 1999; Eliasoph 2013).

The September Mobilization

We now turn to the recent events that are the object of the empirical study below. In September 2015, a massive mobilization, the September Mobilization, took place; this event is the case for this study. The mobilization happened as a reaction to the arrival of large group of refugees in a rather unregulated manner. Media attention was massive as the police gave up detaining the refugees who started walking on the freeway toward Sweden causing the shutdown of the roads. Such chaotic scenes are extremely alien to Danish citizens living in a highly regulated welfare state. Thus, as the events developed in the first week of September, citizens becoming activists organized assistance to the refugees, providing them with food, clothing, and medicine at the train stations and harbors, as well as organizing illegal transportation onward to their destination, often Sweden. In the single first week of September, 14,776 new members joined. By the end of the year, the movement membership was up to 79,693 from 31,061 primo September.

However, the number of 31,061 members on the eve of the September Mobilization indicates there was a considerable movement in place as the events took off. Beforehand, a long-term build-up had taken place. This not only allows for analyzing the interaction in the Facebook groups using quantitative techniques. The September Mobilization as a defining event in the movement's history also presents itself as a point of reference allowing for retrospective inquiry of the events using survey techniques. Furthermore, because of the massive influx of new members within a relatively short span of time in September, we can compare old and new members. For these three reasons, the September Mobilization makes the case strategic with regard to developing a research design for testing the influence of group style on collective action.

Research design

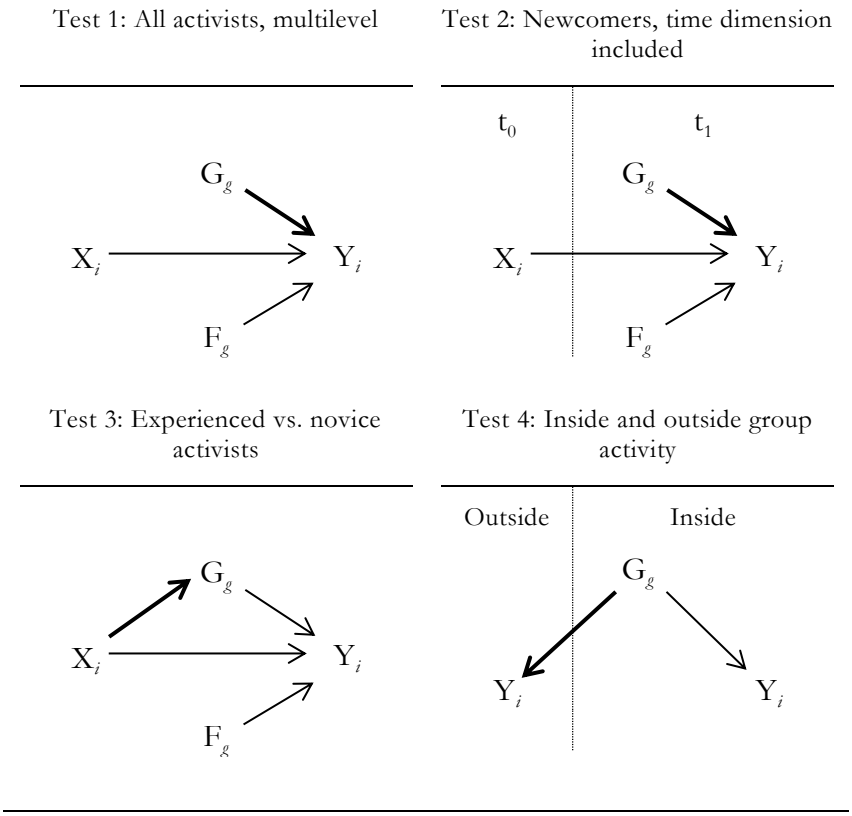
Our aim is to empirically substantiate the theoretical claim that group interaction is important to differential recruitment and demonstrate how this can be studied with quantitative methods at an aggregate level. This implies subjecting the qualitative observations made in the preceding case description to rigorous statistical scrutiny by testing the influence of variation in style between groups on individual participation in political protest. Thereby, we add to the existing qualitative studies not only by investigating variation in the independent variable (group style) but also by analyzing how it correlates with the outcome variable of political protest. At the same time, we can control for alternative explanations suggested in the literature on differential recruitment. We present our research design in the following order. First, the logic of the empirical tests is outlined. Then we present the data sources and subsequent details regarding the variables included in the analysis.

The statistical analysis falls in two steps. First, we examine the overall hypothesis arising from the theoretical consideration presented above saying that *group style will influence the level of political protest engaged in by the individual independent of framing, network embedding, and individual properties.* Thus, it is made plausible that group style influences individual action. This being established, the second step is to investigate the hypotheses regarding heterogeneity of the effect of group style on action depending on the level of prior activist experience and whether the activity is inside or outside the group of the individual.

These two steps are structured around four statistical tests. The logic of the tests is exemplified in Figure 8.1. Tests 1 and 2 concern the first step of the analyses, to test the overall hypothesis, whereas tests 3 and 4 concern the second step, to test for heterogeneity with regard to a history of activism and the group embeddedness of the activities. In Figure 8-1, X is individual i's characteristics including network ties to individuals and organizations. Y is the political protest of individual i carried out during and/or after

the September Mobilization. *F* is the framing of group *g* that the individual is a member of, and *G* is the group interaction that individual *i* is influenced by as a member of the group. The emphasized arrow depicts the variable relationship that is the core in the analysis in the model.

Figure 8.1. Logical designs for four tests of the effect of group style on political protest



Tests 1 and 2 both concern the overall hypothesis, namely that group style influences individual participation in political protest. In test 1, we estimate the statistical effect in a multilevel design allowing for controlling for unobserved variation among the groups. Given that our hypothesis concerns a group-level factor, it is of course quite important to minimize the likeliness that the observed statistical effect is due to some unobserved co-varying group characteristic. In test 2, a time dimension is introduced distinguishing between t_0, before September, and t_1, during and after the September Mobilization. This distinction is obtained by splitting the sample into veterans, active at t_0, and newcomers, not part of the movement until t_1. This distinction concerns the degree to which the individual itself has been part of creating the group culture from the beginning, which may be the case for the veteran activists who were already active during t_0, or as a recruit enters the group and becomes subject to the group style at t_1. It

also concerns the length of time the individual has been part of the group and thereby has encoded the group style. Thus, test 2 concerns the effect on the new members who first became members during or after the September Mobilization, t_1. The individual i's characteristics are formed at t_0, prior to September, and F, framing and G, group style, of group g first have effects during t_1 simultaneously with being active, Y_1. Thereby, we attempt to control better for possible endogeneity, in the sense that we are more certain that the individual characteristics have not influenced or been influenced by the group style. Our expectation is that G has a positive effect on Y in both statistical tests.

To investigate heterogeneity, test 3 splits the population by history of refugee activism to examine whether the level of experience X, influence the effect of contentious group style, G, on the contentious action, Y, of individual i. In accordance with our theory, we would expect that the experienced activist with a long history of refugee activism would be less affected by the group style due to stronger habits, whereas non-experienced activists would have no experience and habits to guide them in this respect, and therefore to a greater degree align with the group style. Test 4, splits on activities that took place within the group and outside the group. The straightforward hypothesis is that group style has more to say about in-group activities than outside group activities. However, in line with our theoretical assumption of attunement to group style, we still would expect it to influence activities outside the group as well.

Data

Data stems from two sources, which we combine. To measure individual properties and network and the dependent variable of the individual's involvement in political protest, we exploit data from a survey with a total of 2,289 respondents recruited online in the Facebook groups of the movement. Carried out during summer 2016, the online survey of movement participants inquires about the individual's actions and experiences in relation to the September Mobilization. These events constitute a fixed and public event in time, about which that people in Denmark in general and activists in particular have a clear memory, which better allows for retrospective investigation of the event as in this case (Belli 2014). Furthermore, by focusing on the event of the September Mobilization, we can distinguish between before and after in the questions asked, which allow for including the dimension of time. In addition to inquiring about the September Mobilization, the questionnaire asks about movement and civic activities, motives, attitudes, and beliefs as well as individual and socioeconomic characteristics at a more general level. The survey includes information on the respondent's primary Facebook group affiliation. This information is exploited to relate the individual to measures of the interaction in this particular group, which will be explained in more detail below. Finally, it has information about whether one's activities were carried out

inside or outside the group, enabling us to counter some of the endogeneity in our research design.

As explained in the case description, in practice, almost all those active in the movement were a member of the Facebook groups when the survey was conducted. This strategy allowed for the recruitment of a broad selection of activists. However, it cannot be assumed that the survey constitutes a representative sample of the movement implying that findings regarding proportions of the movement cannot claim to be general for the movement population. Nonetheless, this study is concerned with testing variable relationships, and in this respect, the results are likely to be less biased (Søgaard *et al.* 2004).

Despite the construction of survey items allowing for some time separation of measures, by the end of the day, we are still dealing with cross-sectional data, and not panel data, which would have been preferable but in practice impossible as the September Mobilization was difficult if not impossible to foretell. Also, even though by focusing our inquiries on a significant event we are likely to reduce the problem of recollection when conducting retrospective surveying, the problem can by no means be ruled out as an influence on the answers. For these reasons, we do not claim that we observe a causal relationship—merely the likelihood of such a relationship between variables which at best provides the theoretical argument with plausibility.

The second source is data collected on Facebook. It is used to measure variation in group interaction along the dimension of contentiousness. Using content analysis and machine learning techniques, we analyze the totality of statements in 119 Facebook groups identified through a key-word search[27] and classify them as either contentious or non-contentious by a coding of 12,500 statements randomly drawn from the interaction in the 119 Facebook groups (>640,000 statements) carried out by the authors including validation. This labeled sample was then used to train a machine-learning model to replicate the qualitative evaluations. How we did this is described in more detail in appendix 8.2. The resulting model achieved a reasonably high accuracy (0.99 vs. the 0.90 baseline of a model predicting negative every time). This demonstrates that natural language processing and machine learning algorithms can be tailored to replicate evaluations made by qualitative researchers with a reasonably high accuracy.

[27] The keywords were: *refugee* (flygtning), *asylum* (asyl), *racism* (racism), *foreigner* (udlænding), *Venligbo* (the Danish nomination for a large and new social movement which has kindness toward refugees and others in need as its central goal), *friends of refugees* (flygtningevenner), *intercultural* (interkulturel), *the Red Cross* (Røde Kors), *the Red Cross Youth* (Røde Kors Ungdom), *the Danish Refugee Council* (Dansk Flygtningehjælp), *DFUNK* (the Danish Refugee Council's youth organization), *Frivillignet* (the volunteering organization of The Danish Refugee Council), *Save The Children* (Red Barnet), *Save The Children Youth* (Red Barnet Ungdom), and *Amnesty International*.

Table 8.1. Summary of variables included in statistical models

Variable (type)	n	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Political protest (scale)	1,364	0.860	0.945	0	4
Contentious group style (scale)	1,364	0.048	0.046	0	1
Contentious framing (dummy)	1,364	1.025	0.156	1	2
Personal network (scale)	1,364	0.885	0.913	0	2
Organizational network (dummy)	1,364	0.061	0.239	0	1
Political civil socieity embeddedness (scale)	1,364	4.228	1.688	0	9
Non-political civil socieity embeddedness (scale)	1,364	3.850	2.044	0	9
Emotional response (scale)	1,364	3.463	0.975	0	4
Income (scale)	1,364	3.002	1.154	1	5
Worktime (scale)	1,364	1.816	1.596	0	5
Highest level of education (scale)	1,364	4.127	0.958	1	5
Degree of urbanization (scale)	1,364	3.424	1.232	1	5
Children in household (dummy)	1,364	0.460	0.499	0	1
Age (scale)	1,364	48.822	13.849	15	84
Refugee (dummy)	1,364	1.970	0.171	1	2
Active before september (dummy)	1,364	0.538	0.499	0	1
Prior history of activism (scale)	1,364	1.754	1.638	0	5
Prior history of refugee activism (scale)	1,364	0.877	1.313	0	5
Self-transcendent values (scale)	1,364	5.556	1.797	1	8
Self-enhancement values (scale)	1,364	3.669	1.483	1	7
Political attitude (scale)	1,364	2.117	0.893	1	4
Frequency of chruch attendendance (scale)	1,364	1.013	1.127	0	4
Categorical variables	n	Percent			
Occupation					
Full time	606	44	-	-	-
Part time	119	9	-	-	-
Self emplyed	118	9	-	-	-
Student	110	8	-	-	-
Unembployed	61	4	-	-	-
Early retirement	60	4	-	-	-
Retired	189	14	-	-	-
Other	101	7	-	-	-
Gender					
Female	1,172	86	-	-	-
Male	185	14	-	-	-
Indentify as neither	7	1			
Religion		-	-	-	-
Non-believer	686	50	-	-	-
Danish National churc	594	44	-	-	-
Islam	22	2	-	-	-
Other	62	5	-	-	-

Variables

The variables included in the models are summarized in Table 8.1. The dependent variable—*political protest*—is based on a set of 16 items asking about what activities the respondents have been involved in. In the following, we consider only activities that

took place during or after the September Mobilization to synchronize the activities with our measure of group interaction.

Table 8.2. Frequency of political protest

# Activities	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative %
0	546	43.61	43.61
1	418	32.20	76.81
2	232	18.43	95.23
3	33	2.62	97.86
4-7	27	2.14	100.00
Total	1,259	100.00	

Note. This table includes only the observations that are included in the statistical model of Table V, and thus are not missing on any of the variables included and where group size>5.

Out of the 16 kinds of activism, seven have been categorized as political protest[28]. The activities included covering traditional means of extra-institutional political activity such as demonstration and petitioning. It also includes several activities characteristic of the movement's repertoire, namely civil disobedience in relation to avoiding deportation of refugees. Due to a very small number of observations in the higher counts, it is recoded in five categories distributed as reported in Table 8.2. When splitting the sample in tests 2-4, due to the smaller N, the variable is further recoded into a binary variable simply distinguishing between being engaged in contentious action or not.

The focal independent variable is *contentious group style*. This variable represents our operationalization of group style. Not conducting ethnographic field work, we deviate from the approach originally suggested by Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003; 2014).[29] Instead of describing different kinds of group styles, we wish to measure all group styles on one dimension, namely that of contentiousness, which we have argued is prominent to the movement on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Thus, in a quantitative approach, the straightforward way to compare variation in group styles along a dimension is to measure the relative frequency of interaction expressing the dimension under study in the groups. To construct such a variable we did a content

[28] See appendix 8.3 for a table listing the activities and their classification as either political protest or non-contentious.

[29] Lichterman and Eliasoph suggests that the *style* can be grasped by the heuristic of 1) *speech-norms*, 2) *maps* of orientation including group boundaries, and 3) *group bonds*, which are the mutual expectations and obligations (Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014: 814). However, because we do not study the style by ethnographic methods, we deviate from this heuristics (indeed, Lichterman and Eliasoph by no means claim that this heuristics is the only way to study group style) and understand study of the group style as the aggregation of interactions along a certain privileged dimension.

analysis, scaled with supervised machine learning techniques, of post and comments within the Facebook groups(see appendix 8.2). The variable measures the proportion of contentious statements during the months of October and November in the single groups weighted by the total number of statements per month in the groups. When we do not include September, this is because even though most of the 119 groups were created before September, 23 were created during September. Thus, to get a comparable measure of the groups including those created in September, we measure interaction in October and November. Contentious group style continuously ranges from 0-1, but the very low mean (0.046) and S.D. (0.031) reveals that it generally operates at the lower end of this range.

Turning to the control variables, group framing is of particular theoretical interest. It is a group-level variable distinguishing between groups that frame their activity and purpose as non-contentious or contentious. All Facebook groups have a self-description that contains information about the group available to potential members. Examples of such descriptions were presented in section 3. We use these descriptions to construct the variable *contentious framing* simply by coding the group descriptions of all the groups as contentious or not. The vast majority of respondents (89%) are in groups framed as non-contentious. On average, 50% of the respondents in the non-contentious groups were involved in political protest. In the contentious groups, the number is 81%. This indicates that framing indeed relates to differential recruitment. It is included to ensure that framing is not confounded by group style, by controlling for selection effects due to the activists selecting a group based on the alignment between their views and the group's framing.

At the individual level, people's network is of particular theoretical importance. Network effects are divided into personal and organizational networks. *Personal network ties* are measured on a scale 0-2 constructed from a survey item asking whether the individual was encouraged to join the group by (2) friends or family, (1) colleagues or acquaintances, or (0) were not encouraged. Thus, the scale reflects a continuum from weak to strong ties. *Organizational ties* are measured in three ways. First, a dummy variable measuring whether the individual was encouraged to join by an organization or association at a meeting or in a newsletter or the like. Second, a scale from 0-9 measuring the degree of *embeddedness in non-political civil society* associations such as sports associations, churches, and "other associations." For each of the three categories of civil society associations, the individual is assigned 0 to 3 points depending on whether it has (0) no relation to such associations, (1) has previously been a member, (2) is currently a member, (3) is currently an active member. The third variable in the same way measures *embeddedness in political civil society* which are political

parties, trade unions, and NGOs on a scale of 0-9. The two scales of civil society embeddedness are constructed to reflect the humanitarian/non-contentious–political/contentious dimensions, in order to be able to measure potential variation in the salience of the network ties (McAdam and Paulsen 1993). Finally, the variable *active prior to September* simply measures whether the individual was embedded in a movement network on the eve of the September Mobilization or first became a member of the movement during the mobilization.

We also seek to control for selection by including two variables measuring *history of activism related to refugees* and *history of activism related to other issues*. Prior engagement and experience with activism are regarded as important predictors of the likelihood for engaging in future activism (Klingemann and Fuchs 1995; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), and it is, therefore, an important variable to include in the model to ensure that potentially observed effects of group style are not spurious. These two variables are scales ranging from 0-5 measuring activism prior to September 2015.

In the same vein, predisposition such as beliefs and values may shape preferences for how to act in solidarity with refugees (Deth 1995; Deth and Scarbrough 1995b; Inglehart 1977). To control for such effects, we include *political attitudes* on a scale from left to right (1-4). We also included basic human values measuring the degree of *self-transcendent values* (1-8) and *self-enhancement values* (1-7) as defined by Schwartz (Davidov *et al.* 2008b; Schwartz 1992). *Religion* (categorical with non-believer as reference), as well as *church attendance frequency* (1-5) are also included. It has persuasively been argued that emotional reactions to events are likely to motivate involvement in activism (Goodwin *et al.* 2009; Jasper and Poulsen 1995). We therefore include a variable measuring the strength of the individual's *emotional response* on scale from 0-4 counting the number of the emotions of 1) anger toward the authorities, 2) responsibility for the refugees, 3) compassion with the refugees, and 4) indignation due to the situation of the refugees. To control for biographical availability (Bruni 2013; Schussman and Soule 2005; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), we include the variables of *children living at home* (dummy), assuming this would impose constraints on time for activism, *age* (continuous by year), and its square, *working time* (0-5), which measures the degree to which the respondents experience that time spent on work and education limits their engagement, and finally *occupation* (eight categories with full-time employment as reference) which in an objective way controls for time constraint due to work as well as flexibility which is assumed to be higher among self-employed and students. Finally, variables measuring several individual characteristics are included: *gender* (three categories with female as reference), *income* (1-5), *highest level of educational*

attainment (1-5), *residential area's degree of urbanization* (1-5), and being a *refugee* (dummy).

Results

The overall effect of group style on individual activity

Test 1 aims at assessing the plausibility of the overall hypothesis that group style independently influences individual participation in political protest. It is specified as a linear random intercept two-level model with Facebook groups as the group level. As is conventional, we set the minimum number of observations per group to >5 (Snijders and Bosker 2012). Details of the model are summarized in Table 8.3. The model includes all the variables described in the variable section.

Table 8.3. Summary of multilevel model

n groups	75
n individuals	1,259
Min. individuals per group	6
Max. individuals per group	183
Mean. individuals per group	16.8
ICC empty model	0.115

The results are reported in table 8.4. Model 1 includes only the focal relationship of contentious group style on political protest, model 2 also including the framing variable and network variables, and finally, model 4 includes all the individual level controls (we report only the significant estimates. For a full list of estimates, see appendix 8.4). Both framing and group style have a significant effect on political protest. The network measure of civil society embeddedness is also significant. Including the individual level controls reduces the effect of both group style and framing, but they are still statistically significant. For the network measures, only embeddedness in political civil society and being active before September are significant and have a positive but rather small effect. The estimates of the control variables are considered in appendix 8.5.

Test 2 isolates the sub-population of newcomers to ensure that the observed relationship in test 1 is not simply the product of veteran activists having aligned their habits of action with the group style. Due to the smaller number of observations in the sub-sample, it is estimated as a logistic regression model distinguishing between whether the individual was involved in political protest or not. In Table 8.5, we report the estimates of three models parallel to the multi-level models of Table 8.4 (for all

estimates, see appendix 8.6).[30] Regarding the effect of contentious group style, it is substantial and significant in all the models even though it is reduced when adding the controls. Framing is not significant in any of the models. This, however, may be because variation in this variable was modest to begin with and is further reduced when reducing the sample. Therefore, and because the effect was significant in the multilevel models, we hesitate to conclude that framing does not matter. The same is the case with embeddedness in political civil society.

Table 8.4. Linear random intercept models of involvement in political protest (0-4)

Covariate	1. Focal relationship		2. Framing & network		3. All controls	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Group level						
Contentious gr. style	6.142***	1.425	4.414**	1.364	3.549**	1.070
Contentious framing			0.709**	0.226	0.544**	0.197
Individual level						
Personal network			0.025	0.028	0.025	0.026
Organizational network			-0.097	0.106	-0.030	0.097
Political civil society embed.			0.068***	0.015	0.045**	0.014
Non-political civil soc. embed.			-0.034**	0.012	-0.006	0.012
Active before September			0.304***	0.012	0.236***	0.047
History of activism					-0.086***	0.019
History of refugee activism					0.138***	0.024
Emotional response					0.147***	0.025
Self-transcendent values					0.034*	0.013
Self-enhancement values					-0.045**	0.017
Political attitude					-0.148***	0.028
Religion						
Non-believer					Reference	
Danish National Church					-0.198**	0.058
Islam					-0.012	0.190
Other					0.069	0.118
Degree of urbanization					0.060**	0.022
Constant	0.515	0.067	-0.769**	0.241	-1.461**	0.526
Random effects	*Estimate*	*S.E.*	*Estimate*	*S.E.*	*Estimate*	*S.E.*
S.D. constant	0.254	0.039	0.213	0.035	0.135	0.032
S.D. residual	0.876	0.018	0.853	0.017	0.787	0.016
Intra-class correlation	0.077		0.059		0.029	
Degrees of freedom	1		7		34	
Log likelihood	-1649.249		-1609.530		-1498.620	

Note: *=p-value<0.05; **=p-value<0.01; ***=p-value<0.001. Total individual observations in all models=1,259. Total groups in all models=75. Coefficients are unstandardized.

Overall, tests 1 and 2 both support the overall hypothesis that group style influences in what kind of collective actions the individual participate. To get a sense of the predict-

[30] A similar model for only the veterans reveals similar findings. See appendix 8.7.

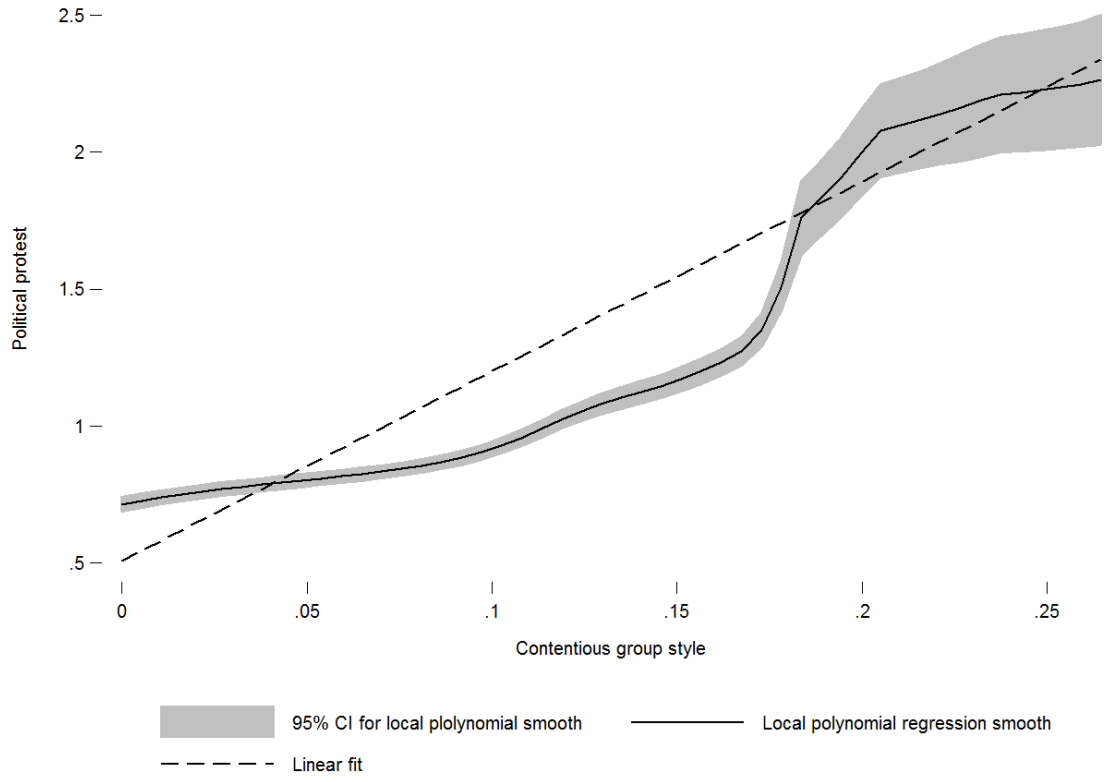
ed impact, Figure 8.2 shows non-parametric regression curves of the predicted values of the random intercept model 3 in Table 8.4. As noted in the variable presentation section, the contentious group style variable primarily operates in the lower spectrum of its principal range of 0-1, and in Figure 8.2 we consider only the lower quarter of the range. Throughout this spectrum, the degree of involvement in political protest increases with the level of contentious group style. However, it is close to flat before 0.1. Around 0.17, the effect accelerates to flatten out after 0.2. The S-curved relationship suggests that when the degree of contentious group style reaches a certain level, a more dramatic shift in the internal group dynamics with regard to participation in political protest occurs. Even though we consider only the lower end of the X-axis, going from 0 to ca. 20% contentious group style increases the individual number of political protest by 1.5 on a scale from 0-4. Thus, the predicted effects are substantial. However, as indicated by the CI, the number of observations higher than ca. 0.2 on the X-axis is quite small, which make us urge caution regarding drawing a firm conclusion about effects at the high end of the axis.

Table 8.5. Logistic regression models of involvement in political protest for newcomers (0-1)

Covariate	1. Focal relationship		2. Framing & network		3. All controls	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Group level						
Contentious group style	10.087**	2.770	9.369**	2.850	7.371*	3.313
Contentious framing			1.029	0.976	0.300	0.944
Individual level						
Personal network			-0.025	0.092	-0.008	0.107
Organizational network			-0.176	0.388	-0.110	0.430
Political civil society embed.			0.160**	0.054	0.085	0.061
Non-pol. civil society embed.			-0.133**	0.043	-0.036	0.053
History of refugee activism					0.390***	0.108
Emotional response					0.552***	0.122
Political attitude					-0.500***	0.113
Religion						
Non-believer					Reference	
Danish National church					-0.464*	0.228
Islam					-0.143	0.789
Other					0.557	0.473
Constant	-.504***	0.142	-1.63	1.02	-2.838	2.706
Pseudo R^2	0.017		0.039		0.180	
Degrees of freedom	1		6		33	
Log likelihood	-428.751		-419.122		-357.718	

Note. *=p-value<0.05; **=p-value<0.01; ***=p-value<0.001. S.E. are robust. Observations in all models=630. Coefficients are unstandardized.

Figure 8.2. Non-parametric regression of predicted values of random intercept model 3



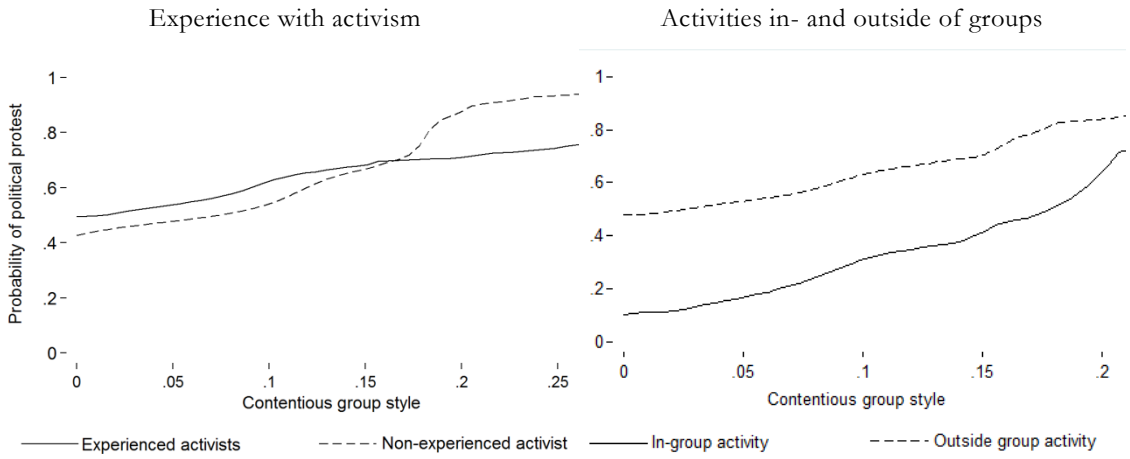
Heterogenous effects

We now turn to investigating possible heterogeneity of the effect. In test 3, we include the same variables as in model 3 of Table 8.5. We estimate two logistic models: one for activists with no history of refugee activism and one for activists with a history of activism. The model estimates can be found in appendix 8.8. In both models, contentious group style is significant. However, for those with a low history of activism (coefficient=13.961***; robust S.E.=3.336), it is much higher than those with a high history of activism (coefficient=5.640*; robust S.E.=2.650). Non-parametric local regression of the predicted values is depicted in figure 8.3, giving an impression of the difference between the two groups. As expected, this suggests that seasoned activists are more resilient to effects of group style, whereas group style strongly influences novice activists.

In test 4, we examine the theoretically expected heterogeneity with regard to whether the activities take place inside- or outside the group. We estimate two logistic models for in-group activities and outside-group activities. The model estimates can be found in appendix 8.9. The dependent variables compare those not engaged in any political protest with those engaged in political protest in or outside their group of prima-

ry affiliation. In accordance with our theoretical expectations, the effect of contentious group style is significant also on outside-group political protest (coefficient=7.730***; robust S.E.=2.096), even though, as anticipated, the effect on in-group political protest (coefficient=20.241***; robust S.E.=4.471) is much. Non-parametric local regression of the predicted values is depicted in figure 8.3, giving an impression of the difference between the two groups.

Figure 8.3. Heterogeneity with regard to experience and activities embeddedness in group



To summarize, all four tests support our theoretical hypotheses regarding the importance of the neglected dimension of group style for differential recruitment, and the presence of a substantial effect seems to be quite robust. However, it should be underlined that this does not amount to making any causal or general claims beyond the Danish refugee solidarity movement. It does, however, increase the plausibility of the theoretical argument and demonstrates that such analyses can be undertaken.

Discussion and conclusion

Overall, the results support that the group style correlates positively with individual participation in collective action along the dimension of contentiousness. That contentious group style influences individual engagement in political protests points to the importance of in situ group interaction as a distinct meso level of analysis.

Furthermore, the results, as expected, show that histories of activism and the implied encoded habits of action and thought mediates the relationship between group style and individual activity. A seasoned activist with established habits of action, entering a new group, does not to the same extent get engrossed in the form of engagement enacted within the group as a novice. What goes on inside the group does not come to define the issue as such, even though they do adjust their engagement to some degree.

For the novice, the opposite is the case. Entering the group and the movement without any habits of action, the group style is all there is to direct thoughts and action.

This brings us to the relationship between activities organized in one's group and the activities taking place outside the group. If group style was completely endogenous to group activities, one should expect that group style would become superfluous in relation to external group activity. However, this is not the case as we observe a significant influence of contentious group style participation in political protest outside the group. Although embedding in political networks does matter, group style is still the strongest predictor of participation in contentious activities. That patterns of group interaction encode themselves into activists and become consequential in other settings at other times (McAdam 1988; Whittier 1997) points to the importance of group interaction more generally and not just in relation to the contentious activities studied here. Refugee solidarity activism, like environmental activism (Lichterman 1996) and feminist activism (Taylor and Whittier 1992), is filled with small actions which are in and of themselves important without having to have an end goal in a large demonstration, petition, or the like (e.g. Coutin 1993; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Teske 1997). In such within-movement cultural outcomes (Earl 2000), where changing the fabric of society happens through everyday actions, the focus on patterns of group interaction and how to quantify it should be of great utility.

These results do not undermine the importance of framing for differential recruitment. Frames still have explanatory value. Frames provide the means through which concerned citizens navigate between groups and choose to join certain groups and not others. Also, a group's official framing is, of course, important in that unlike everyday talk it cannot be ignored as mere talk and, in many cases, must be seen as a privileged part of group discourse. However, our result also clearly underlines that the interactional and situational aspects of Goffman's theoretical endeavor should be considered. This is especially when the ability of a group as an agent to determine actors' engagement is as weak as it is in this case exemplified by relative low influence of group framing on the members' activities.

As with framing, individual network embeddedness still matters for differential recruitment. Structural availability makes it more likely to participate in contentious activities as expected and as such, network matters for differential recruitment. Still, the effect is modest, and the measures of the strength of the ties to the movement as well as embeddedness in civil society are all without significant effects. In most studies the effect of network in differential recruitment is assumed to be a process of socialization (e.g. McAdam 1986; Passy 2001). However, socialization can hardly be reduced to networks. For instance, what network embeddedness indicates is the likelihood of being

socialized, not socialization per se, which is rather the result of, for instance, attunement to a certain group style. This aside, evidence for networks' impact on differential recruitment tends to be sparse (e.g. Passy 2001). The impact of the network is rather related to initial recruitment (Hensby 2014; McAdam 1986; Snow *et al.* 1980; Tindall 2015), that is, the difference between shows and no-shows. Furthermore, that ties are not just ties, and that the distinction between weak and strong is far from sufficient, has long been recognized among social movement network scholars (e.g. Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Tindall 2015) and shown in several studies(Hensby 2014; Leenders 2012; Passy 2001; Rizzo *et al.* 2012). Our proposition is that paying attention to patterns of group interaction will help open up the black box of the network tie by uncovering what it is the network makes the individual structurally exposed to.

Finally, in relation to the ongoing discussion of the status of online activism (Diani 2000; Donk *et al.* 2004; Laer and Aelst 2010), our focus on online group interaction and its consequences for offline activities highlights an overlooked perspective. We contend that online activism not only facilitates offline activism or e-mobilization (Earl 2016; Earl *et al.* 2010), but the interaction in Facebook groups shapes the offline activism of the individuals.

The results presented above are far from conclusive to the question of what accounts for differential recruitment, and more research is needed to determine the relative importance of frames, networks, and group style. This is so because in this study the measure of framing is crude and variation is small. Also, additional and more fine-tuned measures of network would be desirable. Also, improvement of the group style measure by including more dimensions is a necessary future task as well as relating it to outcomes other than individual participation in collective action. Also, to truly open the black box of network ties, a measure of interaction should be used to assess better what effects can be ascribed to network understood as structural availability, and what effects should be ascribed to the information, communication, or encoding of habits and thought to which networks structurally expose the individual. Given these reservations, this paper has made the case that group style matters for differential recruitment and in the case of the Danish refugee solidarity movement provided empirical evidence suggesting that group style is an important factor in explaining involvement in political protest. These results substantiate the theoretical claims that group interaction should be analytically distinguished from network and framing as an important meso-level determinant of social movement repertoires.

9. From democratic participation to civic resistance: the loss of institutional trust as an outcome of activism in the refugee solidarity movement

In contrast to the literature on non-institutional political action and trust, this chapter argues that loss of institutional trust is not only a cause, but also an outcome of social movement participation. Studying the Danish refugee solidarity movement in a mixed methods-research design the chapter shows that three kinds of activism – *political activism*, *humanitarian activity* and *civil disobedience* – relate differently to loss of trust in the institutions of *the parliament*, *the legal system*, and *the police*. Political activism primarily affects a loss of trust in the parliament, due to the low external efficacy. Civil disobedience affects a loss of trust in the legal system and the police, due to lack of procedural justice. Humanitarian activity does not affect a loss of institutional trust. The consequence is not an abandonment of democratic values, rather a change in civic engagement from legitimizing to criticising the political institutions which are experienced as corrupted.

Introduction

An active citizenry which engages with the central values of democracy and participates in the democratic political institutions is of vital importance to modern democracy (Habermas 1996; Ray 2004). The legitimacy of democracy depends on individuals with the capacities for democratic citizenship in civil society who adhere to, as well as legitimise, political institutions due to the experience of being acknowledged through inclusion in the political process (Warren 2011; Welzel *et al.* 2005). Consequently, if civil society actors begin to distrust the political institutions, the legitimacy of the very same institutions and democracy as such are in peril. This paper shows how a group of civically engaged citizens of middle-class origins are gradually turning against the political institutions, which they have experienced as not adhering to the values underpinning democracy. Instead of tuning their back on democratic values, the individuals intensify their civic engagement in order to reinstate such values and principles in the institutions. This investigation is achieved by analysing how activity in the refugee solidarity movement in Denmark leads to a loss of trust in political institutions among citizens who are otherwise highly engaged in civil society and the political process.

Given a shift in political participation from institutional towards non-institutional political activity (Dalton 2008), and political polarisation, with social movements at the heart of the process (Kriesi 2012, 2014; McAdam and Kloos 2014), the question of the

links between social movement activity and institutional trust gains salience. The literature on social movement outcomes tends to be silent on the issue of activism and its consequences for institutional trust (Bosi *et al.* 2016; Giugni *et al.* 1999). Instead, studies of this relationship view institutional trust as a cause of activism (Ejrnæs 2016; Hooghe and Marien 2013; Kaase 1999; Norris 2012). With these considerations, the overall contribution of this paper is to demonstrate that loss of institutional trust should also be analysed as an outcome of activism.

The argument for how citizens are turning against the political institutions which they experience as not adhering to central democratic values follows three steps. First, the chapter presents data showing that citizens active in the Refugee Solidarity Movement has lower trust in political institutions when compared with the general population, apparently as a consequence of their activity in the movement. By distinguishing between three forms of activism – *political activism*, *humanitarian activity* and *civil disobedience* – and three institutions – *the parliament*, *the legal system* and *the police* – it is shown to be likely that different kinds of movement activity affect loss of trust in different institutions. Second, exploring the social processes leading to the loss of trust in the different institutions involved in different kinds of activist, the chapter argues that the decline in trust stems from the activists' interaction with the institutions whose procedures are experienced as unfair (Jackson *et al.* 2012; Nix *et al.* 2015; Tyler 2003), or suffering from low external efficacy (Pollock 1983). Finally and third, it is argued, that the refugee solidarity movement mobilizes a group of citizens with a strong commitment to civil society and democratic values. Their reaction is not political apathy but a change in their civic action: From active citizens participating in the democratic processes of the political institutions they to a greater degree turn to contending the political institutions themselves which they experience as being corrupt.

The first step is achieved by analyses of unique survey data consisting of 2,289 valid cases, collected in summer 2016. The survey enables comparison with the general Danish population as represented by the European Social Survey and International Social Survey Program. In addition, 42 in-depth interviews with activists in the movement carried out during spring 2014, are analysed in order to substantiate the second step regarding the encounters with institutional actors. The third step regarding the shift in civic action draws on both survey- and interview data.

In the following section, theories concerning trust, civic action and democracy are discussed. Section three presents the case and research design. Section four contains the analyses of 1) the relationship between activism and decline in institutional trust, 2) the interaction with institutions involved, and 3) how it changes the attitudes and means as

well as goal of the civic action among the movement members. The final section five concludes.

Activism and trust

The literature has for a long time asserted a crucial relationship between trust, civic action and democracy (Almond and Verba 1963). Trust has often been divided into the categories of generalised trust and institutional trust, which are mutually connected in a positive way (Rothstein and Stolle 2008), and which influence democratic attitudes and participation (Zmerli and Newton 2008). This study focuses on institutional trust and leaves the question of generalised trust aside.

Institutional trust has also been studied in relation to activity in social movements. The literature on social movement outcomes tends to be silent on the issue of activism and institutional trust (Bosi *et al.* 2016; Giugni *et al.* 1999; Giugni 1998). This is odd in light of the overwhelming amount of studies on the identity transforming (e.g. Reger *et al.* 2008), radicalizing effects (e.g. Della Porta 1995; McAdam 1988) and biographical effects (e.g. McAdam 1999b) of participation in movements. Instead, studies have found a negative relationship with activism at the micro level, which has been interpreted as low institutional trust causes political activity (Ejrnæs 2016; Hooghe and Marien 2013; Kaase 1999; Norris 2012). In these studies, the direction of causality is assumed on theoretical grounds, because the underlying data sources are cross-sectional surveys which are not well suited to determine the direction of causality of the observed correlations due to the lack of measurement of individual variation over time. The point is not to be dismissive of this widely accepted approach, in fact, this study also analyse cross-sectional survey data. However, the lack of empirical substantiation of the assumed causality accentuates the relevance of the current study which considers the alternative possibility; namely, that changes in the individual's institutional trust are not only a cause but may as well be an outcome of involvement in activism.

Relation of trust to partisan- and order institutions

Kaase, summarising the literature, argues that trust is relational and therefore decline (or growth or stabilisation) involves interaction between actors, which can be both individual, collective and institutional (Kaase 1999: 2–3). Such interactions vary among institutions, as has been convincingly argued by Rothstein and Stolle, who distinguish between *partisan institutions,* pertaining in this case to parliament, and *neutral and order institutions,* which the legal system and the police are examples of (Rothstein and Stolle 2008: 447–448). According to the authors, in addition to functioning as their effective agents, citizens expect political bias from partisan institutions, but impartially and neutrality from the order institutions.

For partisan institutions like the parliament, trust is associated with political efficacy (e.g. Craig *et al.* 1990; Pollock 1983). The mechanism is that if individuals believe they lack the competences to participate in the political process (internal efficacy), they are less likely to trust the institutions. On the other hand, the political institutions' responsiveness to their demands (external efficacy) will affect their trust in them. For order institutions like the police and legal system there is a consensus that trust mainly stems from the procedural aspects of justice, rather than their objective performance (Tyler and Huo 2002). What matters for trust in legal institutions is having personal experiences of high levels of fairness in the exercise of legal authority (Jackson *et al.* 2012; Nix *et al.* 2015). As will be argued in the analyses below, this focus on the importance of interaction and relations offers a most relevant perspective to explain why activism may lead to loss of trust in order institutions.

These general considerations will inform the subsequent analyses of how different kinds of social movement-mediated interaction with political institutions can account for variation in the loss of institutional trust. The proposition of the chapter is that activism is not only an important locus for such interaction, but also that different kinds of activism lead to different interactions with different institutions, potentially resulting loss of institutional trust.

Case and research design

The Danish refugee solidarity movement has been active for decades. It is a movement made up of what can be broadly characterised as middle-class people, and predominantly women. Levels of income and education tend to be rather high and the typical occupations are white collar, public sector jobs, such as teachers, doctors, social counsellors and the like. The level of social capital is significantly higher than the general population (see appendices 9.1-9.2) and they are also highly engaged in civil society, which will be discussed in more detail in the analysis below.

In September 2015, the movement experienced an unprecedented mobilisation in relation to the arrival of large numbers of refugees which is the case of this study. It has several research strategic advantages: 1) It constitutes a fixed and public event in time, that people in Denmark in general and activists in particular have a clear memory of, which better allows for retrospective investigation of the event (Belli 2014); 2) Focusing on a particular event allows for distinguishing between those who were active beforehand and the new activists, which presents itself as the best option for including a time dimension in a survey design when a panel study was not possible; and 3) The movement has a very broad repertoire, spanning traditional forms of political action (like petitioning and demonstrating), voluntary work (like organising intercultural events with refugees and Danes or providing new arrivals with basic stuff like food, cloth,

medicines and furniture), and civil disobedience or direct action (like assisting refugees going underground or disrupting deportations by organising blockades of airport terminals) (Toubøl 2015). This allows for the investigation of how different kinds of activity may change the activists' views of political institutions.

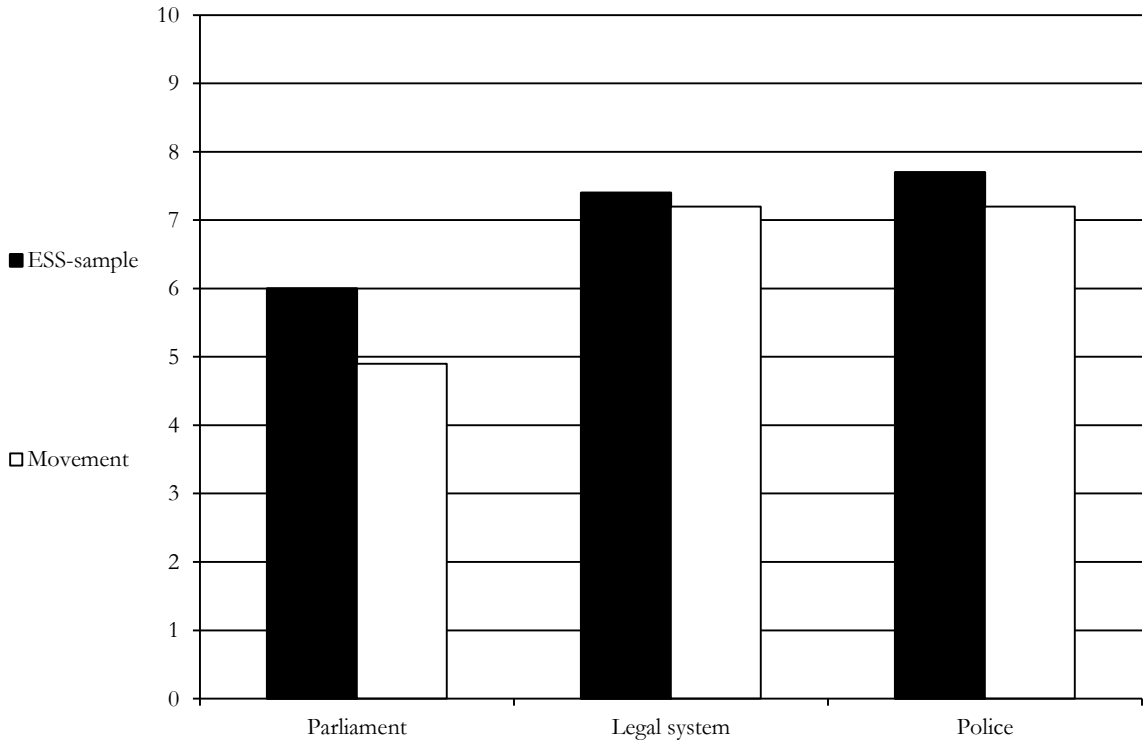
The study exploits three data-sources in a mixed-methods research design: first, an online-survey of movement participants, carried out during summer 2016, inquiring about the events that took place in the autumn of 2015. The questionnaire asks about movement activities, general activity in civil society, motives for participating, political attitudes, religion, values and individual and socio-economic characteristics. The 2,289 respondents were recruited on Facebook, which had become the primary vehicle for organising and coordinating the movement's activities. In practice, almost all of those active in the movement were a member of the Facebook groups, and this strategy allowed for the recruitment of a broad selection of activists. However, it cannot be assumed that the survey constitutes a representative sample of the movement, as the delimitation of the movement population is in practice impossible. Thus, the findings with regard to proportions in this study cannot claim to be general for the movement population. However, with regard to the variable relationships, it is likely they will be less biased (Søgaard *et al.* 2004), and it is these variable relationships which are of concern in this paper (for more, see chapter 7).

Second, to compare patterns in the movement sample with the general population, we use the Danish samples of the ISSP and ESS round 2014. The comparison is made possible by replicating a number of questions in the movement survey. It is important to be aware that the comparison is only between the sample of the Danish population and the movement *sample,* as the sample's potential generalizability cannot be determined in contrast to the population samples. Furthermore, in addition to the descriptive statistics, statistical testing are provided when such comparisons are undertaken in order to control for effects of selection.

Third, 42 qualitative interviews with movement activists were carried out in spring 2014 (for more details, see chapter 2, 3 and 6). They serve both as a source of substantial knowledge about the movement, vital in the construction of the above-mentioned survey, and as an important source of knowledge with regard to the exact processes underpinning the observed variable relationships. In this study, it is in the second capacity that they are used to unpack and provide empirical substance to connections indicated by the quantitative analyses. In what follows, sparse background information is provided and identities are obscured in order to ensure the interviewees remain anonymous. These measures are deemed necessary as several of those interviewed

have been involved in illegal acts of civil disobedience. Thus, disclosure would potentially put the interviewees at risk of legal persecution.

Figure 9.1. Average trust in institutions on a scale from 0-10. Comparing the Danish population and the movement sample



γ-value (A.S.E.)	-.268 (.021)	-.093 (.023)	-.187 (.023)
χ^2-value	157.285***	36.679***	72.098***
OLS-regression coef. (S.E.)[1]	-.837*** (.106)	-.249** (.092)	-.184* (.089)

*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***p<.001.

[1] Controls included: *gender, age, civil status, children at home, residential area's degree of urbanisation, education, employment status, born in Denmark or not, self-transcending values, values of self-enhancement, political orientation, member of Danish national church, church attendance frequency, history of activism.* For estimates see appendices 9.3-9.4.

n=3,452

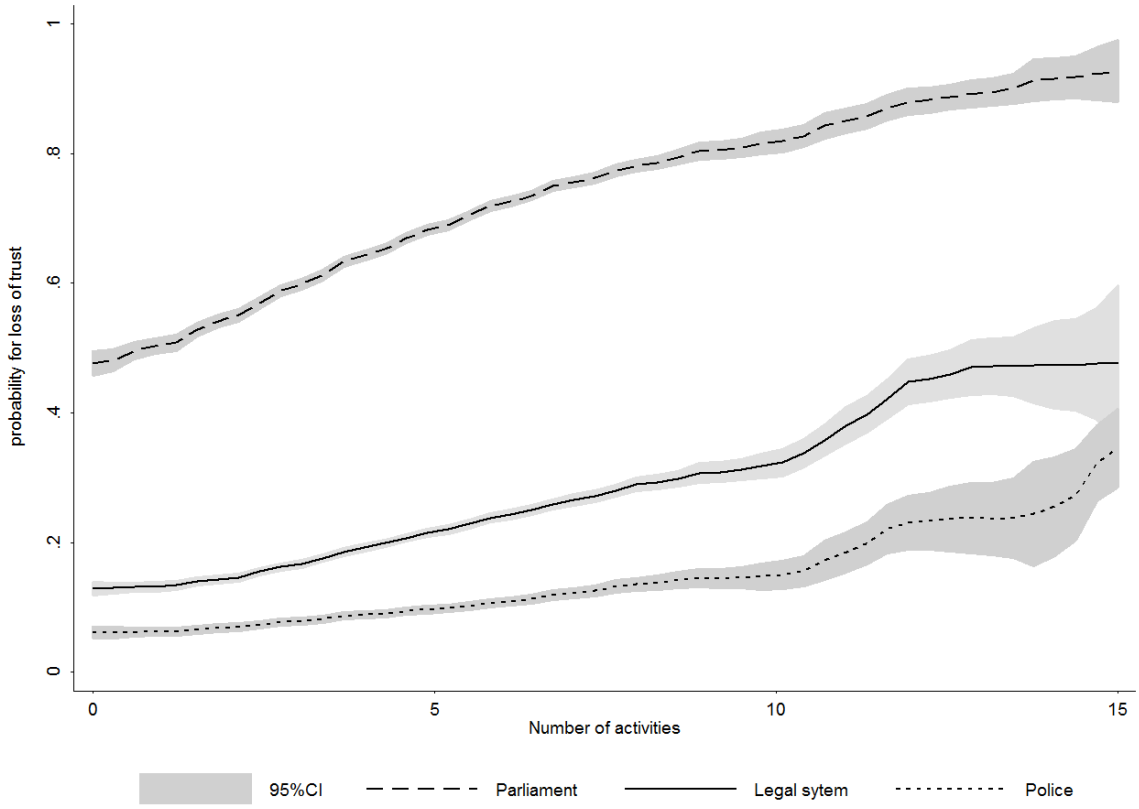
Population-sample is ESS-2014-DK.

The relationship between activity and institutional trust

The analysis proceeds by first considering data suggesting that a loss of institutional trust has indeed occurred in relation to the movement activity. To analyse different kinds of activism relation to loss of trust in different institutions, three scales of activism are inductively derived. Then the question of the different kinds of activities effects on the loss of trust in different kinds of political institutions is scrutinised using survey data and data from the interviews. Finally, the likely consequences following the loss of trust are analysed.

Data indicates that loss of institutional trust is an outcome of activism. Figure 9.1 presents a comparison between the general Danish population and the movement sample. The pattern is similar to what has been observed in the literature (Ejrnæs 2016; Hooghe and Marien 2013; Kaase 1999), namely, a lower level of institutional trust among the activists than the general population. The follow-up question in the survey of the activists indicates that the observed lower level of institutional trust is not the cause but an outcome of activism: significant proportions of the respondents in the survey report that, as a consequence of their involvement in the refuge cause they lost trust in parliament (65.7%), the legal system (21.4%), and the police (9.8%). In total, 68.5% of the activists report a loss of trust in one or more institutions. This provides a strong indication of the causality being that, during the process of being active in the refugee solidarity movement, events occur which result in a loss of institutional trust – not the other way around.

Figure 9.2. Probability for loss of institutional trust, by number of activities



Notes: Prediction lines are kernel-weighted local polynomial regression of the predicted values for loss of trust by number of activities. The model estimates are reported in appendix 9.6.

The first thing to consider is the possibility that the observed drop in institutional trust is not due to involvement in movement activity, but selection bias. Figure 9.2 is the

smoothed means of the modelled relationship between the number of activities an activist has participated in and the loss of institutional trust. It includes a wide range of controls (for list of controls an estimates, see appendix 9.6). The relationships between the number of activities and loss of institutional trust are all statistical significant. The functional form of the relationships depicted in figure 9.2 is roughly linear in all cases. This strengthens the hypothesis of it indeed being the case that experiences related to participating in the activities of the movement affect a loss of institutional trust. Taking this as point of departure, what follows, aims at in detail unravelling how participating in the movement activities affect a loss of institutional trust.

From inspection of the 16 items measuring activities in the survey, it is clear that the different activities do not relate in the same way to decline in trust in the three political institutions (c.f. appendix 9.7). This suggests that the activities may give rise to different kinds of experiences that can result in a decline in trust in the different institutions. To scrutinise this hypothesis, the activities were ordered into three scales – *political activism*, *civil disobedience* and *humanitarian activity* – as summarised in table 9.1. These scales are the result of a procedure of optimising Chronbach's alpha.

Table 9.1. Activity scales

Activities	Activity scales		
	Political activism	Civil disobedience	Humanitarian activity
1. Posting on Facebook	×		
2. Liking and sharing Facebook posts	×		
3. Petitioning	×		
4. Collecting and donating materials	×		
5. Collecting and donating money	×		
6. Intercultural activity			×
7. Contact-person for refugees			×
8. Demonstrations and happenings	×		
9. Civil disobedience/direct action		×	
10. Legal assistance			×
11. Assisting newly arrived refugees			×
12. Illegal transportation of refugees		×	
13. Hiding refugees from authorities		×	
14. Econ. support to underground refugees		×	
15. Other support to underground refugees		×	
16. Refugees living in private home			×

Their denominations are the result of interpreting the commonality of the activities on each scale. Whereas the civil disobedience and humanitarian activity scales are quite clear-cut, political activism is more complex because, in addition to the classical forms of political protest of petitioning and demonstrating, it also covers a number of common low cost/risk activities (McAdam 1986), like activity on Facebook or the collection and donation of goods that are not per se political in a contentious sense. Thus, it should be kept in mind that political activism covers common political protest activities, and in addition a range of activities with a character difficult to determine.

Table 9.2. Logistic model of the relationship between activities and loss of trust in institutions

Covariates	Only focal relations			Including all controls[1]			Reduced final models		
	Parliament	*Legal syst.*	*Police*	*Parliament*	*Legal syst*	*Police*	*Parliament*	*Legal syst*	*Police*
Focal variables									
Political activism (0-6)	.272*** (.030)	.172*** (.036)	.132** (.049)	.237*** (.033)	.145*** (.039)	.101× (.054)	.235*** (.032)	.145*** (.038)	.105* (.052)
Civil disobedience (0-2)	.236 (.154)	.380** (.129)	.685*** (.150)	.293× (.164)	.418** (.139)	.574** (.167)	.294× (.161)	.389** (.134)	.586*** (.161)
Humanitarian activism (0-4)	.058 (.046)	.074 (.050)	-.049 (.069)	.029 (-.049)	.049 (.054)	-.072 (.076)	.043 (.047)	.070 (.051)	-.059 (.071)
Select controls									
Income (1-5)	-	-	-	-.117× (.064)	-.182* (.075)	-.143 (.107)	-.089× (.046)	-.225*** (.053)	-.204** (.073)
Self-transcendent values (1-8)	-	-	-	.125*** (.029)	.090* (.035)	.100* (.049)	.114*** (.028)	.095** (.035)	.108* (.049)
Political left-right scale (1-4)	-	-	-	-.263*** (.062)	-.138× (.073)	-.316** (.106)	-.257*** (.059)	-.129× (.070)	-.311** (.101)
Constant	-.290** (.110)	-2.061*** (.143)	-2.747*** (.196)	.708 (.860)	-.631 (.930)	-.558 (1.233)	.467 (.394)	-.800× (.453)	-1.527* (.627)
Number of observation (d.f.)	1,912 (3)			1,912 (34)			1,912 (14)		
Pseudo R^2	.043	.025	.028	.078	.066	.107	.070	.055	.089

Notes: Coefficients are log odds (S.E.).
×=p<0.1, *=p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***=p<0.001
[1] Controls included. Individual characteristics: *gender, age, children in household, civil status, residential area's degree of urbanisation, being a refugee*. Socio-economic status: *income, occupation, working time, education.* Civil society relations: *active in political party, active in religious association, active in labour union, active in sports association, active in other association, prior history of other activism, prior history of refugee activism.* Values and attitudes: *self-transcendent values, self-enhancement values, political left-right scale, religion, church attendance, generalised trust* (see appendices 9.8-9.9 for estimates).

The forms of activity in the sample are far from equally common. Almost all of the respondents have performed political activities (95.8%); humanitarian activism is also quite common (66.6%), whereas civil disobedience is quite rare (8.2%). From this it follows logically that it is quite common to have performed more than one kind of activism. For instance, out of 180 respondents who have been involved in civil disobedience, only three have not been involved in any other kind of activism, and 132/73.3%

have been engaged in both political and humanitarian activism as well. In the same vein, of the 1,469 humanitarians active, only 86/5.9% were not also engaged in political activism.

Table 9.2 reports the results of the statistical analysis of the three activity scales and their relationship to the decline in trust in the three institutions. The table only contains estimates for the focal variables and selected controls (for all estimates, see appendices 9.8-9.9). The first block of models includes only the focal relationships. Political activism has a significant and positive relation to the loss of trust in all three institutions. Civil disobedience only influences the legal system and the police, and humanitarian activism does not influence loss of trust in any of the institutions. In the second block, all of the controls listed in the notes for table 9.2 are included. In the reduced models, all controls which did not have a significant effect on any of the dependent variables have been removed (see appendices 9.8-9.9 for further details). The only change regarding the focal relationships when including all controls is that political activism's effect on the loss of trust in the police becomes insignificant (still, $p<0.1$, though). The estimated effect of civil disobedience on the loss of trust in parliament increases to some extent, but it is still insignificant. The reduction in controls only shows that the relation between political activism and trust in the police becomes significant.

Table 9.3. Summary of the effects of activism on the loss of institutional trust

	Parliament	Legal system	Police
Political activism	×	×	(×)
Civil disobedience	-	×	×
Humanitarian activity	-	-	-

The test reveals a pattern summarised in table 9.3. *Humanitarian activities,* like organising intercultural events, assisting newly arrived refugees, or providing legal assistance, tend not to affect a loss of trust in any of the three institutions. *Political activism*, on the other hand, tends to be associated with a loss of trust in all three institutions, with the effect on trust in parliament being by far the strongest. The estimated effect on trust in the police is small and not significant when including all controls, and therefore not as robust as the others indicated by the brackets. The effects of *civil disobedience* on the decline in trust in the legal system, and especially the police, are considerably larger and significant.

Considering the controls only, the value scale of self-transcendence – constructed on the basis of Schwartz's basic human values (Davidov *et al.* 2008b; Schwartz 1992) combining values of universalism and benevolence – consistently has a significant effect. It suggests that the more your basic values involve caring for other people and being aware that your own fortune depends on the people around you, and vice versa, the more probable it is that you lose trust in the political institutions. The opposite seem to be the case for income, even though the estimates are not as robust. The higher the income, the lower the probability for a decline in trust, at least with regard to the legal system and the police. Also, placement on the political scale tends to matter in the sense that the further to the right an individual is, the less probable it is that they will lose trust in parliament and the police. Finally, attention should be directed to the absence of effects of the variables measuring a prior history of activism (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), a proxy for the degree of socialisation of an activist identity (Della Porta 1988; Klandermans *et al.* 2002), as well as integration into activist networks prior to the events in September (McAdam 1986; Schussman and Soule 2005), which are both factors carrying substantial effects in comparable studies (see chapter 7).

Trust and interaction with political institutions

The above quantitative analyses identify a rather clear pattern of the relationships between involvement in different kinds of activism and a loss of trust in different political institutions. In this second sub-section of the analyses, an interpretation of these relationships is presented and substantiated by the analyses of 42 qualitative interviews. The quotes below are from groups of activists who have experience of the workings of the civil service and legal authorities, partly from their working lives in professions like teachers, doctors, and minsters in the national church, and also in some cases from serving as elected officials and/or engagement in civil society organisations. The point is, they are far from novices regarding the principles and inner workings of the civil service, and their experiences and reactions can thus not be ascribed to ignorance of the executive dimension of the institutions they interact with. As discussed earlier, there is an important distinction between the partisan institutions – in our case, parliament – in relation to which partisanship is expected, and the order institutions, from which impartiality is expected. This distinction orders the following analyses.

Trust in partisan institutions

Among the interviewees, internal efficacy did not seem to be the problem. However, external efficacy was extremely low. Many perceived the political opportunity structure (Meyer 2004) to be closed, and were frustrated by how it was seemingly impossible to get the politicians to respond to their demands. For example, one leader of a mi-

nor NGO, with a long history of activism by both institutional and non-institutional means, summarises the relations to the ministers of the right wing government of 2001-2011 in this way:

> 'Actually, they got worse and worse, the ministers of integration. I think it was three awful ministers. […] Especially Birthe Rønn, extremely rude and condescending in her way of speaking about the asylum seekers sometimes. So we understood that there was no possibility of dialogue at that level.'

Hopes were high in 2011, when a shift in government from a right-wing and very immigration-sceptical government to a centre-left government occurred. However, as it turned out that the new government was not going to implement any major political changes pertaining to immigration and refugees, disappointment became widespread, as one interviewee summarises below regarding his network's experience with the new government:

> 'Then I said, "Now we have a good government, now we can take it easy", and then we continued at a reduced level of activity for a while. But as so many others, we got disappointed by that government, and well, then we must take another stint, so I am back in the coordinating committee, and I write flyers again, and the other day I was at a demonstration I organised.'

Overall, the relations with the political actors resulting in a loss of institutional trust are mediated. In both quotes, the impression of "no possibility of dialogue" and getting "disappointed by that government" stems, in part, from direct interaction like contacting the minister, but to a greater extent from the political communication in various medias. Such mediated interactions through, for instance, mass-medias engage most people and it is therefore not surprising that a loss of trust in partisan institutions is the most widespread form of loss of trust, and is associated with the most common form of activism, namely political activism. With regard to the order institutions, however, the interactions determining trust are of a much more particular kind.

Trust in order institutions

As explained above, trust in order institutions has been linked to the level of procedural justice, meaning fairness in the interaction between citizen and institutional actors (Jackson *et al.* 2012; Nix *et al.* 2015; Tyler and Huo 2002). 'Fairness' concerns both the outcome and the fairness of the procedure used to arrive at such decisions, but the procedural fairness tends to have primacy as the willingness to accept an outcome regarded as unfair increases if the procedure to get there were experienced as fair (Tyler 2003). The locus of experienced fairness is in the encounters and interaction with the

individual actors of the legal institutions: police officers, judges, clerks etc. Correct and acceptable behaviour on the part of the institutional actors in the legal procedure are essential to citizens' experiences of them as fair, which is the main determinant of the legitimacy and level of trust in legal institutions (Creutzfeldt and Bradford 2016; Sprott and Greene 2010; Tankebe 2013).

This overall insight – that an experience of fair procedures in interactions with institutional actors are key for institutional trust and legitimacy – is supported by the qualitative empirical material, from which a couple of cases shall be examined. In the first, the activist assists an underground refugee who has decided to come 'above ground'. The activist makes a deal with the local police guaranteeing safe conduct for the refugee. However, things turn out differently at the police station:

> 'Then, in the middle of the meeting, they read out an arrest order, and we are all shocked.
> Interviewer: What do you feel in that situation?
> IP: Rage – I seriously considered pushing the police officer aside and saying, "Now we run!" Then I scolded them, and they stated "We are just performing our duty" and then I said "That you are not! You promised safe conduct, and you have not kept your promise." Then I told them a story from my childhood about my father who had a factory during WWII, in which he hid a lot of police officers from the Germans, who at that time were arresting the Danish police. "Should my father then just have turned them over to the authorities or what?" Then the police officer got very silent. I have never seen a police officer make such a strange face.'

Overall from the encounter in the quote above, but also from numerous other interactions with the police, both in writing and from telephone conversations, the activist got a 'very wicked impression' of the police, even though he underlines that he did 'encounter police officers who behaved properly' and that he does not claim that all police officers are wicked. Shortly after this episode, he also got in touch with the legal system and civil servants in the Immigration Service:

> 'In general I am deeply shocked by the Danish police. And the same with the judge who ruled in his case. It is demeaning; it is not worthy of the judiciary. Passing one pro forma verdict after the other. And the officials […] who in their letters where they factually list all the legal criteria relevant to the case, and then in the conclusion ignore what is to the benefit of the family and only take into consideration what fits the conclusion, which is pre-determined. That, in my opinion, is not proper conduct by a civil serv-

ant. A minister can do such things, they are just politicians. But when senior civil servants perform such acts. That is shocking. […]
Interviewer: How did it change your view of the system?
IP: I do not trust it. And that in general. I will always be very critical and inquire into different cases in the future. I think the Danish legal system is on top compared internationally, but it is far from ideal. Not even close. Thus, when I read the paper and watch the news, then I have a different view of some verdicts, which I probably did not have before. A much more critical view.'

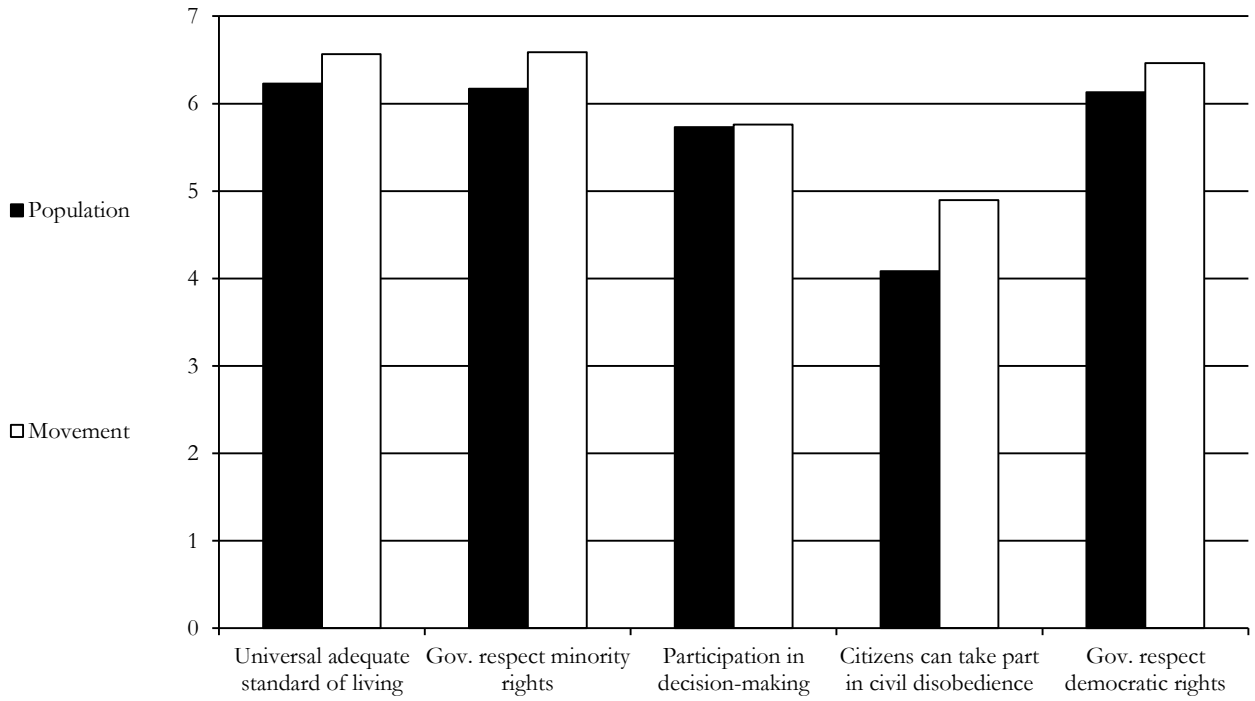
In this part of the interview, it becomes very clear that it is the experience of a lack of objectivity on behalf of legal institutions which provokes him and erodes his trust in them. His line of reasoning is also in line with Rothstein and Stolle's distinction between partisan- and order institutions, when he distinguishes between politicians, who he accepts are biased, as opposed to civil servants, from whom he expects impartiality.

The experience of a lack of objectivity and impartiality in the procedures of the legal institutions is common among the interviewees, and is viewed as unacceptable and damaging for confidence in the institutions. The experience that the basic principles of equality before the law are not being applied to the refugees make another interviewee start to consider the legitimacy of the law:

'Interviewer: What do you experience when you receive such a rejection letter from the ministry?
IP: Well, you actually experience, that it is a banana republic. It was absolutely evident, that this woman must be given humanitarian asylum, but the conclusion is a rejection. And there was nothing to do. The decision was made in advance. […]
We grew up with the tripartite division of power, and we grew up believing in the incorruptibility of the judiciary, and when you experience that something like the Refugee Appeals Board suddenly gets politically infected in a way that fits the political system, then you get very, very sad about your country. It was a horrifying awakening. […] In a democratic country like ours, to me it shows, how short a distance there is between what we believe in and fight for and something very, very atrocious, how easily it may change and how careful we must be to avoid this happening. […] We cannot trust that right is right. And therefore it becomes legitimate to do something that is very illegal, you get a duty to do what is not legal. That is what you feel.'

This quote brings attention to how the procedural aspect of the law is crucial to the authority of the law. In line with the theory of procedural justice discussed above, unfair procedures experienced in interaction with the legal authorities undermine not just trust in the legal institutions but also the legitimacy and the authority of the law.

Figure 9.3. Average support of democratic rights on a scale from 1-7. Comparing the Danish population and the movement sample



γ-value (ASE)	.334(.027)	.407(.025)	.033(.024)	.273(.021)	.280(.026)
χ^2-value	139.334***	216.265***	22.861**	180.460***	108.212***
OLS-regres. coef.(S.E)[1]	.079× (.042)	.178***(.041)	-.141*(.056)	.443***(.081)	.216***(.046)

×=p<0.1; *=p<0.05; **=p<0.01; ***=p<0.001.

[1]Controls included: *gender, age, education, employment status, children at home, civil status, residential area's degree of urbanisation, political attitude, history of activism*. See appendices 9.10-9.14.

n=3,092

Population-sample is ISSP-2014-DK.

Consequences for civic activity

Finally, the consequences of this loss of institutional trust will be analysed. First of all, the loss of trust in political institutions seems not to be related to a rejection of democratic values. Figure 9.3 shows that support for basic democratic values among the movement sample is higher than among the general population with the exception of if more opportunities for participation in decision-making is needed. Thus, support for

the values and principles that the political institutions ought to demonstrate, according to the ideals of a democracy (Habermas 1996), seems not to be affected negatively. Hence, the loss of institutional trust should be specified as a loss of trust in the institution's ability to function in accordance with these democratic ideals.

Table 9.4. Political activity prior to September 2015. Comparing the Danish population and new movement members in September

Political activity	Descriptive		Models[1]	
	% Population	% Movement	Odds Ratio	S.E.
Petitioning	43.23	29.55	0.506***	0.048
Product boycott	19.57	25.53	1.340**	0.143
Demonstration	26.00	45.53	1.923***	0.181
Political meeting	29.18	35.68	1.372**	0.132
Contacted politician	15.70	20.60	1.345*	0.155
Donated money	21.90	23.23	1.047	0.111
Contacted media	11.83	18.09	1.665***	0.209
Expressed opinion on the internet	8.99	14.57	1.878***	0.264

Notes: *=p<0.05, **=p<0.01, ***=p<0.001.

[1] Controls included in the logistic regressions: *gender, age, civil status, children living at home, employment, education, residential area's degree of urbanisation.* For estimates see appendices 9.15-9.22.

Population-sample is ISSP-2014-DK (n=1747). Movement-sample is activists not active in the movement prior to September 2015 (n=982).

Second, it would be too simple to conclude that the studies suggesting that loss of trust leads to non-institutional political action are altogether wrong. Logically, loss of institutional trust may result in inactivity and apathy or a change of emphasis in the repertoire of those affected. As table 9.4 shows, even prior to the events of September 2015, with the exception of petitioning and donating money, the newly engaged movement participants were already significantly more active in the political process by both institutional and non-institutional means, and their activity in the movement excludes the option of apathy. Thus, they are not new to political action, be it institutional or not, so in addition to loosing trust as an outcome of activism, this may in turn affect a change in their repertoire due to a change in their view of the political institutions, as a consequence of entering into *conflict with the institutions themselves* as opposed to *contending with political opponents in the institutions*. The following quote serves to illustrate this proposition:

> 'The refugee came and said that she would be deported, and brought a pile of papers, and I knew nothing about all this, it was a unknown country to me back then, and I thought "This cannot be true, there is civil war in their home country" […] but the more I read, the more I could see in writing

> that she was going to be deported, and then I thought: "What do you do? What do you do?" And then I came to think of my time in Amnesty, so I organised a petition. And then I thought, "This is what you do in Amnesty, it is kind of rude when you think about it. We live in Denmark. Here [there] is the rule of law. It is no dictatorship, and then you have to use the same methods as when confronting a dictatorship." I tell you, my world was turned upside down!'

In this quote, a middle-aged citizen who in general takes an active part in the local life in his neighbourhood experiences how the institutions that should uphold democratic values have been corrupted. In response, and to his own surprise, he is transformed from citizen to activist, employing extra-institutional means that he imports from a different context; first of all, to help the refugees who are the victims of failing democratic institutions, with an implied secondary goal of reinstating the democratic values and principles. In short, to those quoted in this study and many of the other movement participants interviewed, civil society has changed from a site of inclusion in the political process that underpins the legitimacy of the democracy that they strongly support, to a site of organising resistance against what they experience as the tyranny of the majority (Tocqueville 2004).

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the relationship between movement activity and loss of institutional trust as an outcome of the activity, in contrast to the existing literature, which views a decline in institutional trust as a cause of non-institutional political activity. It has shown that movement activity is linearly related to the likelihood of losing trust in institutions.

The analyses show that the loss of trust in the institutions of the parliament, the legal system and the police are related to different kinds of activism. Political activism, which is by far the most common form, relate to a loss of trust in partisan institutions, and only to a lesser degree a in order institutions, whereas civil disobedience is not related to a loss of trust in partisan institutions but in the order institutions. Humanitarian activity is not associated with a loss of trust in any of the three institutions.

Interview data suggest that the loss of trust in partisan institutions on the one side and the order institutions on the other are due to different logics of interaction: the loss of trust in partisan institutions is due to low external efficacy, and in particular the perception of the political opportunity structure as closed. The interactions are typically mediated through different media and the public debate. On the other hand, interactions with order institutions are particular; usually in relation to a specific refugee, and

often face-to-face. The loss of trust is due to the experience of the authorities not being objective and impartial.

The consequence is not lower support for democratic values but a sceptical attitude towards the institutions which are experienced as not observing the democratic values and principles they should. As a consequence, those affected who has a history of strong engagement in civil society may change their civil activity from legitimizing participation in the institutionalized political process to a critical stance towards the institution aiming at reinstating the values and principles they believe should inhabit the political institutions.

A principal limitation of this study is that it only considers one kind of movement activists, which are characterized by a middle-class background. Therefore, despite finding the opposite relation between low institutional trust and activism than most other studies, this may very well be different for other kinds of movements. For instance, in cases of groups of oppressed people low institutional trust may indeed be part of the explanation of non-institutional activism on their part.

If such loss of institutional trust is general for the thousands of Europeans who were mobilised during the summer and fall of 2015, such a movement outcome constitutes a potential threat to the legitimacy of the political institutions of Western democracy. In this way, the study sheds light on a hitherto largely overlooked element in the Western democratic crisis: In addition to right-wing populism, and traditional left wing mobilization of economic deprived, as a reaction to rising nationalism and xenophobia the refugee solidarity movements mobilization's alienating effects on the civically engaged middleclass should be considered. The paradoxical consequence of this mobilization in defence of humanistic and democratic values may be increasing resistance to the political institutions from the part of civil society that used to legitimize them.

10. Conclusion

This dissertation addresses the central questions of differential recruitment to and outcomes of activism in social movements. These processes are all studied in the same case, namely the Danish refugee solidarity movement, which recently has experienced a massive mobilization in relation to the so-called European refugee crisis, and today is the most vibrant movement in Danish society, placed centrally in the current political division over the issue of immigration. Four substantial contributions to these questions are made:

First, the dissertation argues that the pre-societal ethical drivers, what Løgstrup called the ethical demand and sovereign expressions of life, play an important role when we are to understand what drives individuals to engage in action of solidarity with others, in this case, the refugees. According to Løgstrup, the ethical drivers originate in the fact that in all human interaction there is an element of power, in the sense that the actions of ego may influence alter at the minimum in the given situation. Given that the human subject is constituted by its relations and the interactions they imply, in such relations it is human beings' natural propensity to care for the Other. If not so, human social life would be impossible because the basic natural trust necessary to enter relationships with other people in the first place would be destroyed. This care for the other is expressed in phenomenon called the sovereign expression of life: this is when life, experienced as a sovereign exterior force, makes us act out of care for the other; sovereign because we act in a spontaneous or natural way; life because the source of the act is not the individual will, but life itself, that is, our entanglement with the other and the fundamental experience of our lives' mutual interdependence. The dissertation suggests that such drivers may be of singular importance in cases of apparently spontaneous action and sudden involvement in high-risk activism without any prior history of activism.

Second, it is hypothesized that the likelihood of such ethical drivers having an effect depends in part on predispositions of a view of life as given which corresponds to a set of basic human values of self-transcendence, which entails concern for the welfare and interests of others. In a statistical model, such values are shown to be important for the recruitment of both low- and high-risk activism. However, the impact differs. The effect on low-risk is direct and indirect mediated by an emotional response to significant events assumed to create moral outrage. For high-risk, the effect is only indirect, mediated by such emotional response to events. This finding adds to the knowledge of differential recruitment processes by suggesting the importance of predisposition, but also that recruitment to low- and high-risk activism are influenced by different factors and

even when the same factors are involved they play different roles. At the same time, the findings more generally are in line with what has been shown in prior studies, namely that for low-risk activism, network embeddedness implying structural availability for activism is very important, whereas, for high-risk activism, socialization from a prior history of activism is important in addition to the single most important factor, namely involvement in low-risk activism. Thus, the prominent hypothesis in literature about the individual recruited through a network and a subsequent process of socialization implying an encoding of habits and thoughts, engaging in riskier activism is, in part, confirmed. At the same time, the importance of emotional response and predispositions in the form of values are added, highlighting the alternative routes into low- as well as high-risk activism. Thus, a pending task in the field of social movement studies is to integrate the perspectives of network, socialization, emotions, and values into a coherent theory of differential recruitment.

Third, the question of socialization of activist identity, that is, encoding of habits of action and thought, is further considered by shifting the analytical level from the micro level of the individual to the meso level of the group; more specifically groups of activists organized on the social media of Facebook. The use of Facebook is a central characteristic of the movement which, as the first large-scale movement in Denmark, has made Facebook its primary organizing and mobilizing vehicle. This is done in more than 300 groups and pages. By studying the interaction among the members of 119 such groups, it is shown that the group style, that is, patterns of interaction in the group, has a major influence on what kind of movement activity the individual members of the group participates. The more contentious or conflictual a group's Facebook posts and comments are in relation to the movement's adversaries—immigrant-skeptical politicians, racist or xenophobic civil society actors, and so forth—the more likely it is that persons attracted to that page will engage in contentious activity. That group internal processes are important to social movements is not novel in itself. However, firstly it has been studied mainly in small-N studies in contrast to this large-N study analyzing the effects of group style on movement repertoire taken together. Second, it has not been conceptualized sufficiently: On the one hand, the group has been conflated with social networks which measure structural availability for certain kinds of action but not the processes of the encoding of habits and thought and attunement to a certain style. On the other hand, the group has been conceptualized as a collective actor—social movement organization—which in a conscious and deliberate way frames it activities in relation to its members and potential members. This latter conception, in viewing the group as an actor, is not sensitive to the interaction among the actors in the group. The results of our analyses show that in the case of the refugee

solidarity movement, group style is more important than both effects of network and framing in explaining the differential recruitment of individuals to movement activity. Thus, the dissertation contributes by suggesting and substantiating that the meso-level group interaction and style should be paid attention to in social movement studies.

Fourth, in contrast to the dominant view in the literature on activism and trust in political institutions that asserts that low institutional trust is the cause of activism, the dissertation argues that the opposite causal relationship is just as likely. The literatures of institutional efficacy and procedural justice concerned with explaining the creation and destruction of institutional trust both asserts that interaction with institutional actors is at the heart of building and destroying trust in institutions. Given the fact that movement activism often entails interaction with institutional actors, the hypothesis that activism not only is caused by but also causes low institutional trusts seems plausible. The analytical results strongly confirm the hypothesis. Furthermore, they show that the loss of trust in the institutions of the parliament, the legal system, and the police is differentiated by the kind of activism in which the individual has been involved. Political activism and protest such as demonstrating and petitioning is likely to inflict a loss of trust in the partisan institution of Parliament due to low external efficacy in the interaction with the institutional actor, whereas civil disobedience is more likely to inflict a loss of trust in the order institutions of the legal system and the police due to a lack of procedural justice in the interaction with the institutional actors. Thus, not only recruitment to activism but also outcomes of activism are differentiated. Furthermore, taken together, the reported loss of trust among two-thirds of the sample of activists may have dire consequences for Danish civil society and participation in the democratic institutions. The analysis shows that the loss of trust in the institutions may change their civic engagement from a participatory and legitimizing mode to a mode of resistance against the very same institutions. This shift is due in part to the experiences that caused the loss of trust and to the activists demonstrating that the institutions themselves do not abide by the values and principles central to modern democracy. The fact that, compared to the general Danish population, the sample of movement activists is generally more engaged in civil society and particularly political civil society emphasizes the severity of the threat to the legitimacy of the democratic institutions posed by this group of citizens losing trust in the institutions and shifting from civic political participation to civic resistance.

The dissertation also contributes methodologically in two ways: It develops a novel methodological strategy for collecting survey data by distributing links to an online survey in Facebook groups. The online survey being tailored to the population of

online refugee solidarity movement activists allows for the inclusion of many more items and question than usually recommended when surveying online. In that respect, to include 50 items was a gamble that turned out to be successful. Thus, this experiment reveals that if targeting the population with great precision and inquiring about issues specific to this population, online surveys can be quite comprehensive. This finding is likely to carry some validity in general, but more specifically to social movement studies, this strategy seems to be a promising strategy to obtain better survey data of social movements. In general, most quantitative social movement studies are based either on general surveys which offer only a few and general items that rarely allow for precise testing and detailed analyses of the hypotheses or, if based on a survey, N is usually quite small and rarely more than 500 have responded. This imposes restraints regarding the degrees of freedom that can be allowed. In this light and given the fact that most social movements and protests are to some extent organized or mobilized on social media, the online-survey methodological strategy developed in this dissertation may be a source of inspiration for future survey data collection in social movement studies. However, the approach is challenged by the problem of self-selection, that is, the respondents self-select to participate. This implies that the researcher has little control over the sampling. Furthermore, because the population is unknown, it is difficult to assess or take into account potential sample biases.

Second, online, social media data are exploited as and demonstrated to be a valuable data source. In the dissertation, supervised machine learning is used to carry out large-scale content analyses of the interaction in the Facebook groups surveyed. The results were then combined with the results of the survey of the individual members of the very same group. Thereby, information about group level processes were analyzed in relation to individual level survey items. This showed that analyses of the social media data in groups seems to be a promising way to grasp the everyday online interaction and organization of social movements. Access to such processes has hitherto mainly been through qualitative field work in small-N case studies. In extension, analysis of social media data lends itself as a way to expand and test the generalizability of the valuable insights from the many seminal qualitative studies in the field of social movements. Furthermore, because every observation in social media data is time-stamped by the second, it offers itself as an excellent source of data for extremely fine-grained panel data studies.

The conclusions drawn based on the four major analyses undertaken in this dissertation all pertain to the Danish refugee solidarity movement and its changing configuration in the years 2014 to 2017. Thus, more studies of other cases are necessary to de-

termine the generalizability of the conclusions beyond the Danish refugee solidarity movement 2014 to 2017. In this final part of the conclusion, I will reflect upon promising prospects for research in relation to the four major findings formulated above.

Regarding the ethical drivers, a pressing question is whether such drivers can be found not only in other cases of solidarity activism where the interaction between activist and the unfortunate is integral to the activism carried out, but also in cases of more instrumental activism where the solidarity is among the unfortunate themselves, striving to improve their own conditions. Another obvious case to investigate is our imagined global interdependence that Løgstrup himself is aware of (Løgstrup 1993) as a potential source of care for others. This perspective is likely to be important to fully understand what drives activists in various globalization movements organized, for instance, around global south-north relationships. Finally, the ethical demand to care for others because of the ontological fact that the individual's existence depends on others might pertain to more than inter-personal relations. For instance, the realization of human beings' existence being integrated into the ecological cycle which it then depends on, is at the heart of much environmental and climate activism. Such a realization might constitute the foundation of ethical drivers to care for the planet itself. Such considerations bring us way beyond the scope of Løgstrup's reflections but is a case worth exploring.

The second contribution which aims at integrating the different lines of explanation of differential recruitment will need a careful theoretical integration, and comparable analyses of other cases are necessary to stabilize the suggested variable relationships. However, the finding also calls for more investigating other principles of differentiation of activism than risk—for instance, the cost of activism or distinguishing between humanitarian activity and political protest. Furthermore, the findings in relation to predispositions and their possible relation to ethical drivers calls for reconsidering the overall understanding of recruitment, and at the same time, more detailed studies of the working of this particular factor. With regard to emotions, the study finds that different emotions relate differently to different kinds of activism, but also and in different ways are mediators of both effects of values and network, which suggest that there are much more to explore in this area.

The third finding that group interaction has significant effects on individual level differential recruitment has implications for several issues. First, the basic idea of interaction being important because it is constitutive of interaction-orders that have a relative autonomous influence on the individual is consistent with the suggestion of the origin of the ethical drivers. An integration of these points is desirable. Second, the group level is by and large missing in the study of the effect of network, socialization,

emotions, and values in differential recruitment to low- and high-risk activism. To integrate the group level in further work on this issue has promising prospects. Third, again, the weakness of a one-case study cannot be disregarded. This creates a need for studies of how effects of group interaction play out in other kinds of movements, for instance, a hierarchical and formal organizational. In such a case, due to a disciplinary regime, the group style might not be allowed to deviate from the leadership's framing of the movement.

Finally, the idea of differential outcomes of activism, here in the form of loss of institutional trust due to encounters with institutional actors, would benefit greatly from being developed and contextualized in the wider perspective of the interaction between institutions and movements that is central to our understanding of the historical development of modern societies (e.g., McAdam and Kloos 2014). The fundamental proposition is that in carrying out the policy favored by the majority of the electorate, the democratic institutions violate the principles and values of modern democracy and thereby unintendedly undermine the base of their own legitimacy in the participatory civil society.

This is indeed how many activists in the refugee solidarity movement see it: Rather than reaffirming and revitalizing the values of human dignity and life, the institutions' treatment of the refugees undermines, destroys, and violates them. This becomes even more paradoxical to the extent that such practices by the institutions are justified by claiming that they are necessary to protect society's central value. The consequence is that middle-class citizens who adhere to these central values and should be expected to participate in and thereby legitimize the institutions that historically were founded on the very same values, which they once did, now find that resistance is not only legitimate, but a duty. In this perspective, the threat to Western democracy and societal integration might come not only from the often-suggested sources of right-wing populism, rising inequality, and fundamentalist Islamic terror, but also, and perhaps in a more fundamental way, from the attempt of political institutions to contain these, and, in particular, the posited threat from refugee-immigration.

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Appendices

Appendices for chapter 2

2.1. Letter of invitation to participate in interview

SOCIOLOGISK INSTITUT
KØBENHAVNS UNIVERSITET

Kære flygtningeven!

Du modtager denne invitation til at blive del af et forskningsprojekt, fra vores fælles bekendte, [Gate keeper], fordi du vil kunne bidrage med værdifulde erfaringer.

Jeg er i gang med et samfundsvidenskabeligt forskningsprojekt ved Københavns Universitet, der handler om, hvordan og hvorfor man bliver involveret i flygtningesager, dvs. engagerer sig i at hjælpe asylansøgere, der står til udvisning, og måske endda er gået under jorden. Det jeg vil bede dig om, er at deltage i et interview, hvor du fortæller om dine erfaringer med flygtningesagsarbejdet, samt om dig selv, og hvad der gennem livet har dannet dig som person.

Jeg er interesseret i at tale med personer, der indgår i alle aspekter af den slags arbejde: Det kan være alt fra at organisere underskriftsindsamlinger, demonstrationer eller andre offentlige manifestationer, bistå med lægehjælp eller juridisk bistand til at skjule udvisningstruede asylansøgere, indsamle eller donere midler, give dem arbejde osv. Det afgørende er, at aktiviteten står i forhold til en eller flere konkrete udvisningstruede asylansøgere, som man søger at hjælpe.

Alt hvad du fortæller vil blive behandlet fortroligt. Dvs., at jeg er den eneste, der kommer til at kende din identitet, og at du i alle fremstillinger, vil være anonym: Alle særlige kendetegn vil være fjernet eller ændret, så citerede udsagn ikke vil kunne føres tilbage til dig. Det betyder også, at interviews og noter vil blive opbevaret forsvarligt og ikke blive forelagt andre.

Mere generelt handler projektet om, hvad det siger om vores samfund, at der de seneste 30 år er kommet flere og flere sager, hvor borgere kæmper for indvandrere og flygtninges ret til at bo og leve i Danmark. Hvilke værdier og menneskesyn kommer i konflikt, når borgere griber til civil ulydighed for at hjælpe mennesker, som staten vil udvise af landet til en uvis skæbne?

Udover en videnskabelig afhandling skal projektet også munde ud i en bog rettet mod den offentlige debat, der indeholder beretninger fra dig og andre, der har været involveret i flygtningesager. Bogen skal handle om, hvorfor nogle mennesker er villige til at gøre en stor indsats for at hjælpe et fremmed menneske i nød.

Hvis du vil være med eller har flere spørgsmål så kontakt mig via kontaktoplysningerne angivet nedenfor og i sidefoden. Du kan også få uddybende materiale om projektet ved at henvende dig og læse mere om mig på www.soc.ku.dk/ansatte/PHD/.

Jeg håber du vil fortælle mig om dine erfaringer og ser frem til at høre fra dig!

Med venlig hilsen

Jonas Toubøl
Sociolog, ph.d.-stipendiat

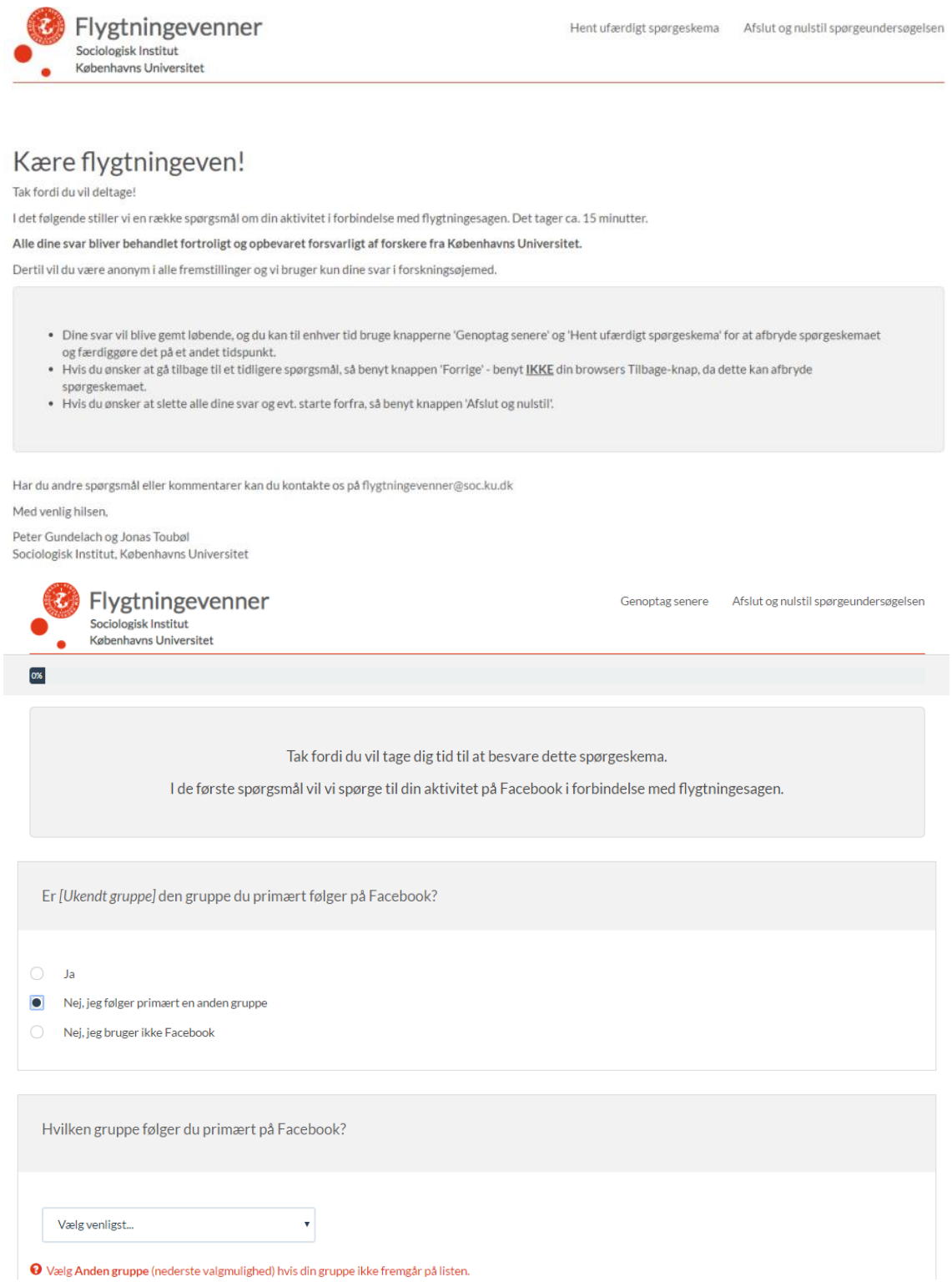
Tlf.: 28 99 03 61 – e-mail: jt@soc.ku.dk

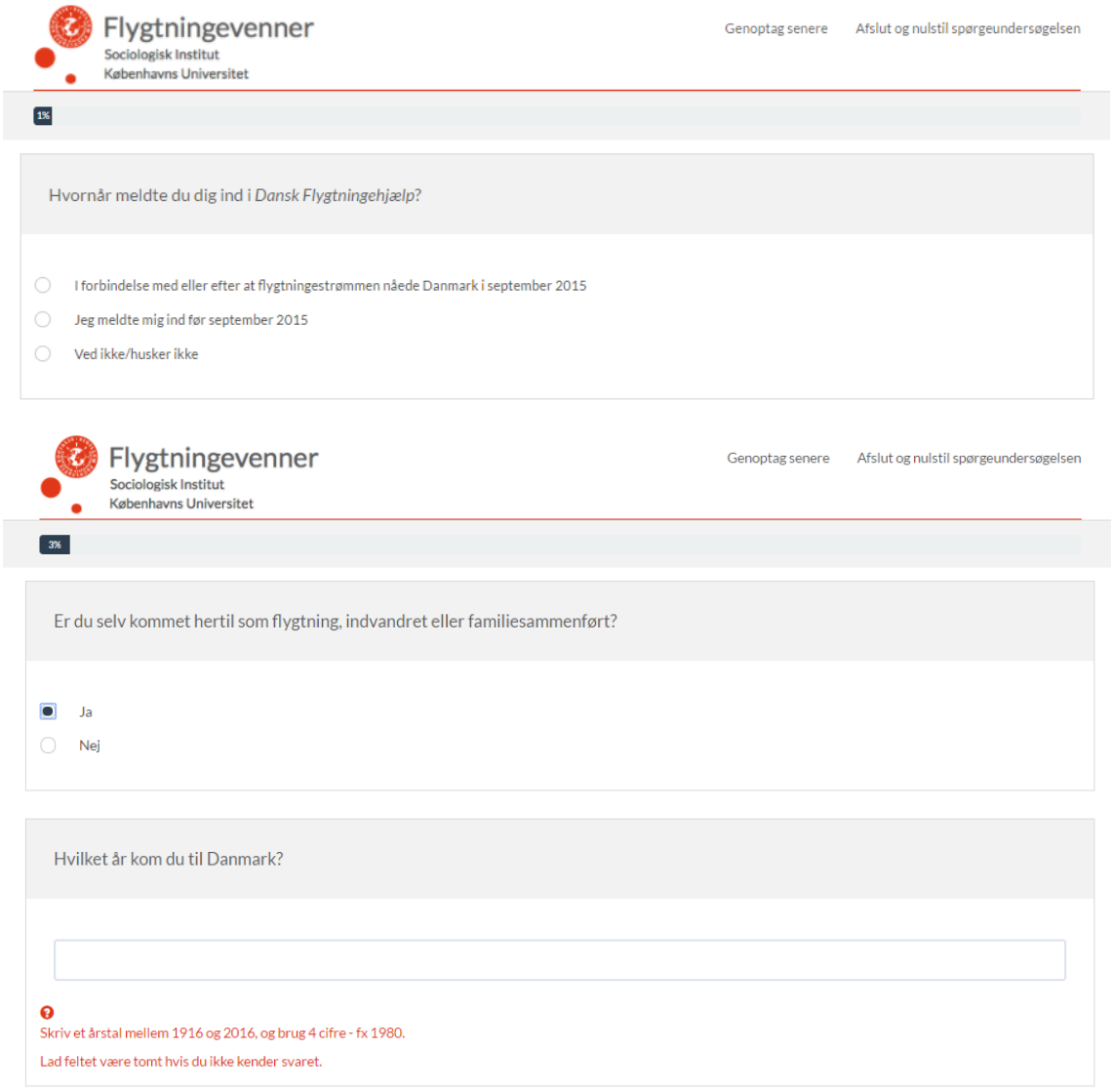
Københavns Universitet ● Sociologisk Institut ● Øster Farimagsgade 5, Bygning 16 ● 1014 København K ● jt@soc.ku.dk ● 28 99 03 61

2.2. Interview guide

Emne	Spørgsmål	Begreb/problem
Start	Om forskningsprojektet - Perspektiver og problemstillinger: Hvordan og hvorfor bliver man indblandet, hvilke livsforløb ligger bag, samtidsdiagnostisk Produkter: Afhandling, Bog, Hjemmeside Om anonymitet og sikkerhed Om interviewets art - Dybdeinterview om dine oplevelser, erfaringer og dig som person Informeret samtykke	
IP's personlige engagement	- Hvad har IP lavet, hvilke roller? - Hvordan blev IP involveret? - Hvor lang tid har IP været engageret? - Hvad motiverer IP? - Hvad er IPs livs og verdenssyn?	IPs historie overgangsritualer Radikalisering følelser og værdier netværk
Aktiviteter	- Hvordan var det organiseret? - Hvem var med og mobilisering? - Hvilke resurser blev benyttet? - Hvad var formålet? - Hvad var analysen, målsætninger? - Samarbejde med civilsamfund og netværk	Civilsamfund Aktivisme Civil ulydighed Protest Medmenneskelighed Etisk fordring
IPs livshistorie	Om den interviewede selv - Opvækst, familie, miljø og naboer - Skole og uddannelse - Fritid og foreninger - Ungdomsår - Skelsættende begivenheder	Miljø Institutionel prægning Socialisering Identitet Værdier Civilsamfund
Forholdet til flygtningene	Hvordan er forholdet til flygtningen? Hvilke følelser er på spil? Giv eksempler på relationer til flygtninge?	Følelser Flygtningegruppens oprindelses betydning
IPs oplevelse af myndigheder og system	Flygtningenævnet Udlændingestyrelsen Politiet Forandring af synet på myndigheder/stat/retssikkerhed	Fremmedgørelse fra stat Mistillid til systemet Retsfølelser/retssikkerhed
IPs organisation i bevægelse og civilsamfund	Organisationens aktiviteter og omfang Organisationens historie Samarbejde og syn på andre organisationer	Repertoire Oprindelse, myter
Afsluting	Spørgeskema om baggrundsdata Opsummering af de væsentigste punkter – "jeg har fået det væsentligste om området med; men er det noget du føler mangler?" Tjek op på anonymitet og formål Tak for interviewet	

2.3 Survey questionnaire




Flygtningevenner
Sociologisk Institut
Københavns Universitet
Genoptag senere
Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen
1%
Hvornår meldte du dig ind i *Dansk Flygtningehjælp*?
I forbindelse med eller efter at flygtningestrømmen nåede Danmark i september 2015
Jeg meldte mig ind før september 2015
Ved ikke/husker ikke
Flygtningevenner
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Genoptag senere
Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen
3%
Er du selv kommet hertil som flygtning, indvandret eller familiesammenført?
Ja
Nej
Hvilket år kom du til Danmark?
Skriv et årstal mellem 1916 og 2016, og brug 4 cifre - fx 1980.
Lad feltet være tomt hvis du ikke kender svaret.

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5%

Var der nogen, der opfordrede dig til at melde dig ind i *Dansk Flygtningehjælp*?

	Via Facebook	Ved personlig henvendelse
Personer som jeg var aktive i flygtningesagen sammen med	☐	☐
Nære venner	☐	☐
Bekendte	☐	☐
Kolleger	☐	☐
Nærmeste familie	☐	☐

Sæt gerne flere krydser.

Blev du opfordret til at melde dig ind gennem en forening eller sammenslutning du har tilknytning til?
F.eks. via et nyhedsbrev eller til et møde.

- ○ Ja
- ○ Nej

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9%

Vi går nu over til at spørge til dit engagement i flygtningesagen i det hele taget og ikke blot i forbindelse med Facebook.

Hvornår engagerede du dig først i en aktivitet i forhold til flygtningesagen?

- ○ I forbindelse med eller efter at flygtningestrømmen nåede Danmark i september 2015
- ○ Jeg var aktiv før september 2015

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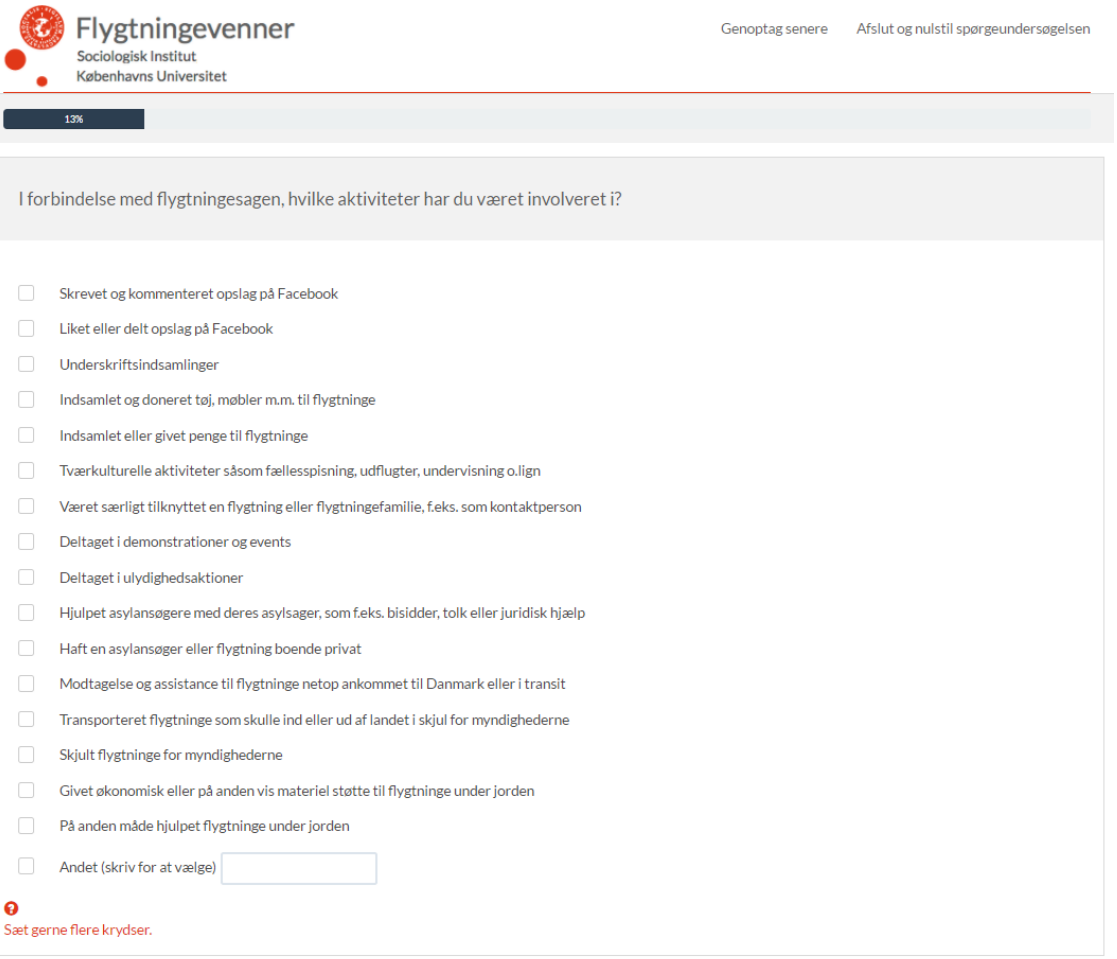
11%

Hvad får dig til at være aktiv i flygtningesagen?

	1 (slet ikke)	2	3	4	5 (i meget høj gad)	Ved ikke/irrelevant
Jeg er vred over de politiske beslutninger på området	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg har medfølelse med flygtningene	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg oplever at mine venner påskønner at jeg er aktiv	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg er indigneret over flygtningenes situation	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det giver mening for mit liv	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg føler mig som et bedre menneske ved at hjælpe andre	○	○	○	○	○	○
Samværet med de andre aktive flygtningevenner	○	○	○	○	○	○
Samværet med flygtningene	○	○	○	○	○	○
Når regeringen og myndighederne svigter må jeg tage ansvar	○	○	○	○	○	○
Når folk jeg synes om er aktive, må jeg også være det	○	○	○	○	○	○


Flygtningevenner
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Genoptag senere
Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen
13%
I forbindelse med flygtningesagen, hvilke aktiviteter har du været involveret i?
Skrevet og kommenteret opslag på Facebook
Liket eller delt opslag på Facebook
Underskriftsindsamlinger
Indsamlet og doneret tøj, møbler m.m. til flygtninge
Indsamlet eller givet penge til flygtninge
Tværkulturelle aktiviteter såsom fællesspisning, udflugter, undervisning o.lign
Været særligt tilknyttet en flygtning eller flygtningefamilie, f.eks. som kontaktperson
Deltaget i demonstrationer og events
Deltaget i ulydighedsaktioner
Hjulpet asylansøgere med deres asylsager, som f.eks. bisidder, tolk eller juridisk hjælp
Haft en asylansøger eller flygtning boende privat
Modtagelse og assistance til flygtninge netop ankommet til Danmark eller i transit
Transporteret flygtninge som skulle ind eller ud af landet i skjul for myndighederne
Skjult flygtninge for myndighederne
Givet økonomisk eller på anden vis materiel støtte til flygtninge under jorden
På anden måde hjulpet flygtninge under jorden
Andet (skriv for at vælge)
Sæt gerne flere krydser.

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15%

I hvilket regi fandt følgende aktiviteter sted?

	I *Dansk Flygtningehjælp*	I anden gruppe eller sammenslutning	Som individuelt eller privat initiativ i en sluttet kreds	Ved ikke
Underskriftsindsamlinger	○	○	○	○
Indsamlet og doneret tøj, møbler m.m. til flygtninge	○	○	○	○
Indsamlet eller givet penge til flygtninge	○	○	○	○
Tværkulturelle aktiviteter såsom fællesspisning, udflugter, undervisning o.lign	○	○	○	○
Været særligt tilknyttet en flygtning eller flygtningefamilie, f.eks. som kontaktperson	○	○	○	○
Deltaget i demonstrationer og events	○	○	○	○
Deltaget i ulydighedsaktioner	○	○	○	○
Hjulpet asylansøgere med deres asylsager, som f.eks. bisidder, tolk eller juridisk hjælp	○	○	○	○
Haft en asylansøger eller flygtning boende privat	○	○	○	○
Modtagelse og assistance til flygtninge netop ankommet til Danmark eller i transit	○	○	○	○
Transporteret flygtninge som skulle ind eller ud af landet i skjul for myndighederne	○	○	○	○
Skjult flygtninge for myndighederne	○	○	○	○
Givet økonomisk eller på anden vis materiel støtte til flygtninge under jorden	○	○	○	○
På anden måde hjulpet flygtninge under jorden	○	○	○	○

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17%

Fandt følgende aktiviteter sted på eller i relation til et asylcenter?

	På eller i relation til et asylcenter	Nej, det var ikke i relation til et asylcenter	Ved ikke
Indsamlet og doneret tøj, møbler m.m. til flygtninge	○	○	○
Indsamlet eller givet penge til flygtninge	○	○	○
Tværkulturelle aktiviteter såsom fællesspisning, udflugter, undervisning o.lign	○	○	○
Været særligt tilknyttet en flygtning eller flygtningefamilie, f.eks. som kontaktperson	○	○	○
Hjulpet asylansøgere med deres asylsager, som f.eks. bisidder, tolk eller juridisk hjælp	○	○	○

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Genoptag senere Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen

25%

Hvordan blev du påvirket af historierne om og situationen i forbindelse med flygtningenes ankomst til Danmark i september 2015?

Vurdér hvor godt følgende udsagn passer på dig, på en skala fra 1-5, hvor 1 betyder 'passer slet ikke' og 5 betyder 'passer i høj grad'.

	1	2	3	4	5	Ved ikke
Det berørte mig ikke i nævneværdig grad	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg følte medfølelse med flygtningene	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg følte et medansvar for at hjælpe flygtningene	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg fik et chok, da jeg så reportagerne om flygtningesituationen	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg blev vred over at myndigheder og politikere ikke tog hånd om flygtningene	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg skammer mig over at det danske samfund ikke tog bedre imod dem	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg blev vred over at flygtningene kom her til Danmark, hvor de ikke har noget at gøre	○	○	○	○	○	○

Flygtningevenner
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Genoptag senere Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen

23%

Har du fungeret som organisator eller hovedansvarlig for følgende aktiviteter?

	Ja	Nej	Ved ikke
Underskriftsindsamlinger	○	○	○
Indsamlet og doneret tøj, møbler m.m. til flygtninge	○	○	○
Indsamlet eller givet penge til flygtninge	○	○	○
Tværkulturelle aktiviteter såsom fællesspisning, udflugter, undervisning o.lign	○	○	○
Været særligt tilknyttet en flygtning eller flygtningefamilie, f.eks. som kontaktperson	○	○	○
Deltaget i demonstrationer og events	○	○	○
Deltaget i ulydighedsaktioner	○	○	○
Hjulpet asylansøgere med deres asylsager, som f.eks. bisidder, tolk eller juridisk hjælp	○	○	○
Haft en asylansøger eller flygtning boende privat	○	○	○
Modtagelse og assistance til flygtninge netop ankommet til Danmark eller i transit	○	○	○
Transporteret flygtninge som skulle ind eller ud af landet i skjul for myndighederne	○	○	○
Skjult flygtninge for myndighederne	○	○	○
Givet økonomisk eller på anden vis materiel støtte til flygtninge under jorden	○	○	○
På anden måde hjulpet flygtninge under jorden	○	○	○

Hvornår fandt aktiviteterne sted?

	Efter flygtningestrømmen kom til Danmark i september 2015	Før flygtningestrømmen kom til Danmark i september 2015	Både før og efter flygtningestrømmen kom til Danmark i september 2015	Ved ikke
Skrevet og kommenteret opslag på Facebook	○	○	○	○
Liket eller delt opslag på Facebook	○	○	○	○
Underskriftsindsamlinger	○	○	○	○
Indsamlet og doneret tøj, møbler m.m. til flygtninge	○	○	○	○
Indsamlet eller givet penge til flygtninge	○	○	○	○
Tværkulturelle aktiviteter såsom fællesspisning, udflugter, undervisning o.lign	○	○	○	○
Været særligt tilknyttet en flygtning eller flygtningefamilie, f.eks. som kontaktperson	○	○	○	○
Deltaget i demonstrationer og events	○	○	○	○
Deltaget i ulydighedsaktioner	○	○	○	○
Hjulpet asylansøgere med deres asylsager, som f.eks. bisidder, tolk eller juridisk hjælp	○	○	○	○
Haft en asylansøger eller flygtning boende privat	○	○	○	○
Modtagelse og assistance til flygtninge netop ankommet til Danmark eller i transit	○	○	○	○
Transporteret flygtninge som skulle ind eller ud af landet i skjul for myndighederne	○	○	○	○
Skjult flygtninge for myndighederne	○	○	○	○
Givet økonomisk eller på anden vis materiel støtte til flygtninge under jorden	○	○	○	○
På anden måde hjulpet flygtninge under jorden	○	○	○	○

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Genoptag senere Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen

Vi vil nu stille en række spørgsmål om dit medlemskab og aktiviteter i forskellige foreninger og sammenslutninger, herunder politiske og religiøse.

Folk tilhører nogen gange forskellige foreninger eller sammenslutninger. Er du eller har du tidligere været medlem af:

	Er medlem og deltager aktivt	Er medlem, men deltager ikke aktivt	Har tidligere været medlem	Har aldrig været medlem	Ved ikke
Politisk parti	○	○	○	○	○
En fagforening, erhvervsorganisation eller en faglig sammenslutning	○	○	○	○	○
En kirke, eksempelvis folkekirken, eller en anden religiøs sammenslutning	○	○	○	○	○
En sportsklub, fritidsklub eller kulturel forening	○	○	○	○	○
Humanitær organisation eller NGO	○	○	○	○	○
Anden forening eller sammenslutning	○	○	○	○	○

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Genoptag senere Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen

35%

Vi vil nu spørge dig om din deltagelse i forskellige typer af politiske og sociale aktiviteter.

Her tænker vi ikke bare på aktiviteter i relation til flygtningesagen, men også i relation til alle mulige andre sager.

Har du...

	Har det gjort det inden for det seneste år	Har gjort det tidligere
Skrevet under på en underskrift indsamling	☐	☐
Boykottet eller bevidst købt bestemte vare af politiske, etiske eller miljømæssige grunde	☐	☐
Deltaget i en demonstration	☐	☐
Deltaget i et politisk møde	☐	☐
Kontaktet eller forsøgt at kontakte en politiker eller en embedsmand for at fremlægge mine synspunkter	☐	☐
Givet eller indsamlet penge til støtte for sociale eller politiske aktiviteter	☐	☐
Kontaktet eller optrådt i medierne for at udtrykke mine synspunkter	☐	☐
Udtrykt politiske synspunkter på Internettet	☐	☐

Sæt gerne flere krydser.

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37%

For de aktiviteter du har deltaget for længere tid siden end 1 år, gjorde du det så i relation til flygtningesagen eller andre sager?

	Det var kun i forhold til flygtningesagen	Det var kun i forhold til andre sager	Både i forhold til flygtningesagen og andre sager	Ved ikke
Skrevet under på en underskrift indsamling	○	○	○	○
Boykottet eller bevidst købt bestemte vare af politiske, etiske eller miljømæssige grunde	○	○	○	○
Deltaget i en demonstration	○	○	○	○
Deltaget i et politisk møde	○	○	○	○
Kontaktet eller forsøgt at kontakte en politiker eller en embedsmand for at fremlægge mine synspunkter	○	○	○	○
Givet eller indsamlet penge til støtte for sociale eller politiske aktiviteter	○	○	○	○
Kontaktet eller optrådt i medierne for at udtrykke mine synspunkter	○	○	○	○
Udtrykt politiske synspunkter på Internettet	○	○	○	○

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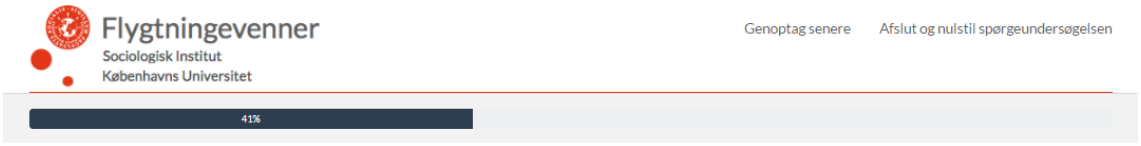
39%

Vi vil nu stille dig nogle spørgsmål om dig selv.

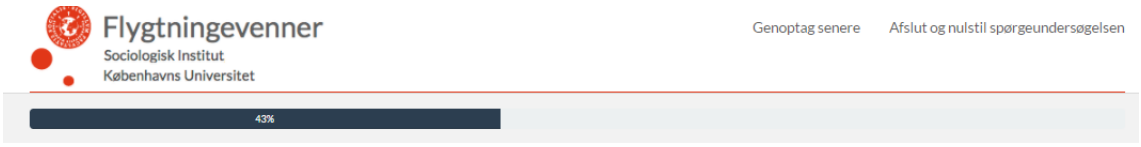
Er du:

- ○ Kvinde
- ○ Mand
- ○ Jeg identificerer mig ikke som mand eller kvinde
- ○ Vil ikke svare
- ○ Ved ikke



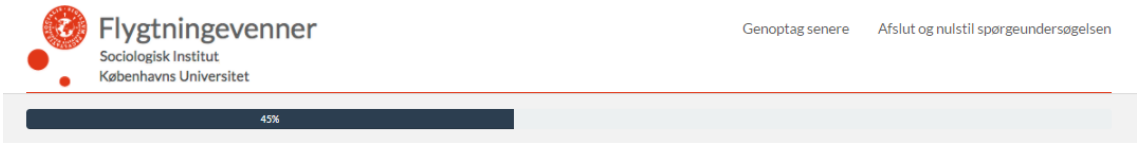
Hvad er din civilstand?

- Gift eller i et registreret partnerskab
- Bor sammen med min samlever (ikke juridisk registreret)
- Fraskilt/separeret/partnerskab opløst/enke
- Enlig
- Andet



Har du hjemmeboende børn (egne børn, stedbørn, adoptivbørn, plejebørn eller samlevers børn)?

- Ja
- Nej
- Ved ikke



Hvilken beskrivelse dækker bedst det område, hvor du bor?

- En stor by
- En forstad til eller udkanten af stor by
- En mellemstor eller mindre by
- En landsby
- En gård eller et hus på landet
- Ved ikke

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47%

I hvilket postnummer bor du?

Skriv fire cifre - fx 2200.

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I det følgende vil vi spørge til dine værdier.

Her er nogle beskrivelser af forskellige personer.
Marker venligst hvor meget du mener den pågældende ligner eller ikke ligner dig.

	Ligner mig slet ikke	Ligner mig ikke	Ligner mig lidt	Ligner mig	Ligner mig meget	Ved ikke
Det er vigtigt for vedkommende at være rig. Vedkommende vil gerne have mange penge og dyre ting.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Vedkommende mener, det er vigtigt, at alle mennesker i verden bliver behandlet lige. Vedkommende synes, at alle skal have lige muligheder her i livet.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er vigtigt for vedkommende at vise sine evner. Vedkommende ønsker, at andre mennesker skal beundre det, vedkommende gør.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er vigtigt for vedkommende at lytte til mennesker, der er anderledes end vedkommende selv. Selv når vedkommende er uenig, vil vedkommende gerne forstå dem.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er meget vigtigt for vedkommende at hjælpe mennesker omkring sig. Vedkommende er interesseret i deres ve og vel.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er vigtigt for vedkommende at have stor succes. Vedkommende håber, at andre mennesker anerkender det, vedkommende udretter.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er vigtigt for vedkommende at få respekt fra andre. Vedkommende vil gerne have at andre gør, som vedkommende siger.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er vigtigt for vedkommende at være loyal over for sine venner. Vedkommende ønsker at være noget for de mennesker, der er tæt på vedkommende.	○	○	○	○	○	○

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50%

Der er forskellige opfattelser af folks rettigheder i et demokrati.

På en skala fra 1 til 7, hvor 1 betyder slet ikke vigtigt og 7 betyder meget vigtigt, hvor vigtigt er det:

	1 (slet ikke vigtigt)	2	3	4	5	6	7 (meget vigtigt)	Ved ikke
At alle borgere har en rimelig levestandard	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
At de offentlige myndigheder respekterer og beskytter mindretals rettigheder	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
At borgerne får flere muligheder for at deltage, når der skal træffes politiske beslutninger	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
At borgere har mulighed for at udøve civil ulydighed, når de er imod offentlige myndigheders handlinger	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
At offentlige myndigheder respekterer demokratiske rettigheder, uanset hvad	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
At personer, der har opholdt sig i landet i længere tid, men som ikke er danske statsborgere, har ret til at stemme ved folketingsvalg	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

1: Slet ikke vigtigt. 7: Meget vigtigt.

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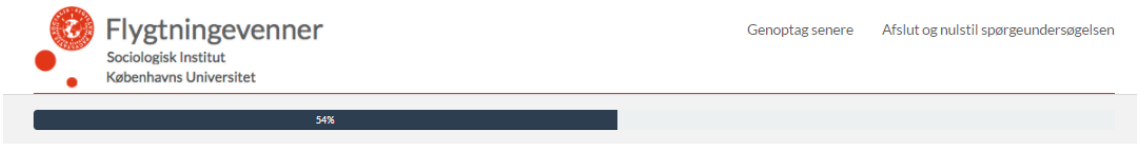
52%

I hvilken udstrækning er du enig eller uenig i følgende udsagn:

	Helt uenig	Delvist uenig	Hverken enig eller uenig	Delvis enig	Helt enig	Ved ikke
Folk som jeg har ingen indflydelse på, hvad regeringen foretager sig	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg tror ikke regeringen bekymrer sig ret meget om, hvad folk som jeg mener	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg føler, at jeg har en ret god forståelse for de vigtige politiske emner i Danmark	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jeg tror, at de fleste mennesker i Danmark er bedre informeret om politik og regeringens aktiviteter, end jeg er	○	○	○	○	○	○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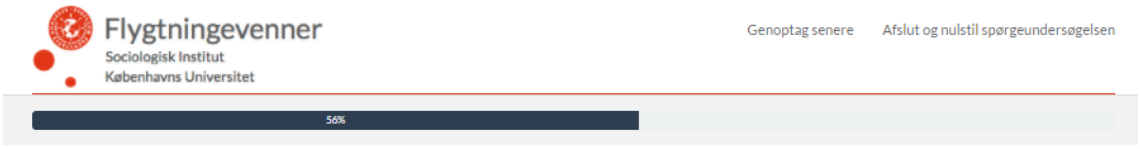
Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen
54%
I politik bruges sommetider betegnelserne 'venstre' og 'højre'.
Hvor vil du placere dig selv på denne skala, hvor 0 betyder venstre, og 10 betyder højre?
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
Ved ikke
0: Venstre. 10: Højre.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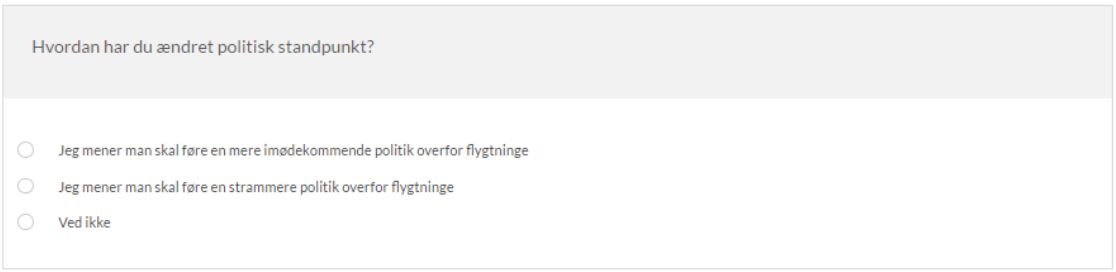
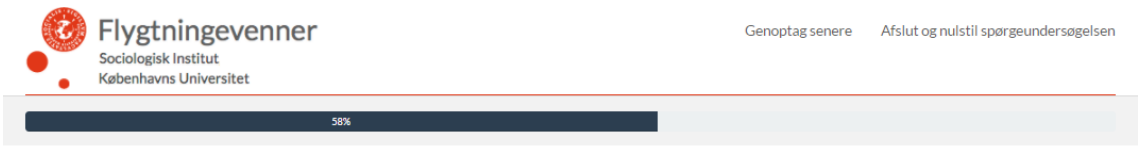
Genoptag senere
Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen
56%
Har du ændret politisk standpunkt som konsekvens af dit engagement i flygtningesagen?
Ja
Nej
Ved ikke


Hvordan har du ændret politisk standpunkt?
Jeg mener man skal føre en mere imødekommende politik overfor flygtninge
Jeg mener man skal føre en strammere politik overfor flygtninge
Ved ikke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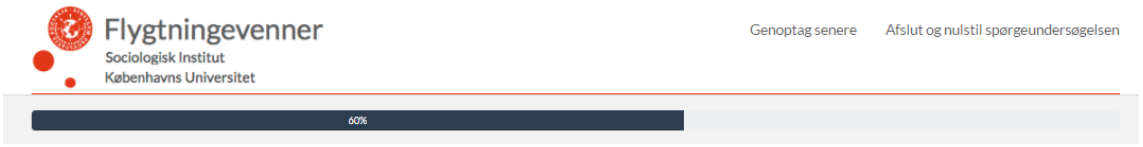
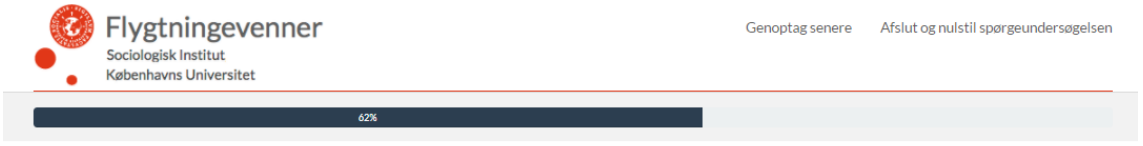
58%
Betragter du dig selv som tilhørende en bestemt religion eller trosretning?
Nej
Ja, Den Danske Folkekirke
Ja, Islam
Ja, en anden religion eller trosretning (skriv):



Hvor ofte går du i kirke (eller lign.: moske, synagoge)?

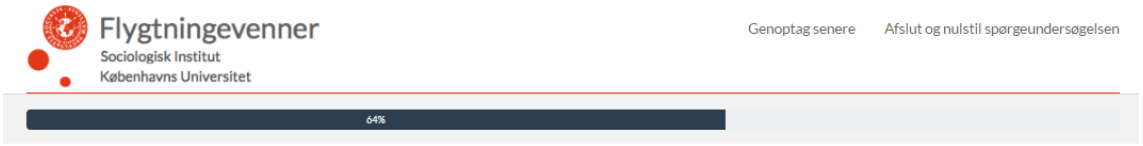
Ved dette spørgsmål bedes du se bort fra kirkebesøg i forbindelse med bryllupper, begravelser og barnedåb.

- Cirka 1 gang om ugen eller oftere
- Cirka 1 gang om måneden
- Ved særlige højtider (fx jul og påske)
- Sjældnere
- Aldrig, næsten aldrig
- Ved ikke



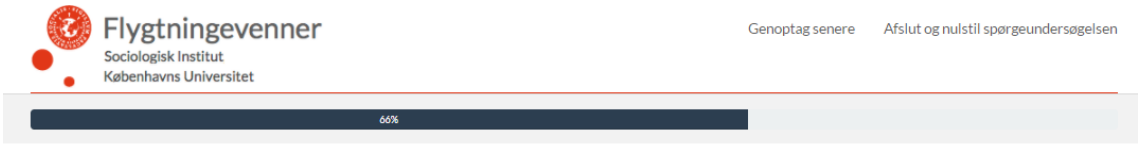
Synes du i almindelighed, at man kan stole på de fleste mennesker, eller synes du, at man ikke kan være forsigtig nok, når man har med andre at gøre?

- Man kan næsten altid stole på de fleste mennesker
- Man kan som regel stole på de fleste mennesker
- Man kan som regel ikke være forsigtig nok
- Man kan aldrig være forsigtig nok
- Ved ikke



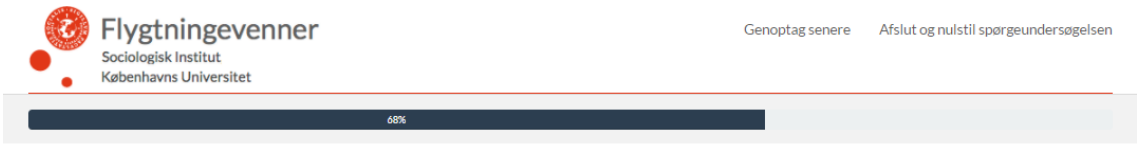
Vurdér på en skala fra 0-10 hvor stor tillid du personligt har til hver af de følgende institutioner.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Ved ikke
Hvor stor tillid har du til Folketinget?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Hvor stor tillid har du til retssystemet?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Hvor stor tillid har du til politiet?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Hvor stor tillid har du til politikere?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○



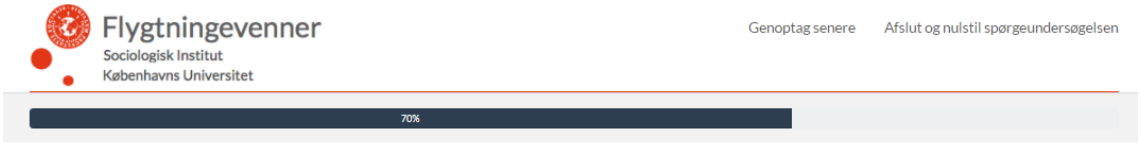
Har dine oplevelser og erfaringer med flygtningesagen ændret din tillid til følgende institutioner?

	Ja, min tillid er øget	Ja, tillid er faldet	Nej, det har ikke ændret sig
Folketinget	○	○	○
Retssystemet	○	○	○
Politiet	○	○	○
Politikere	○	○	○



I hvilket omfang synes du, at Danmark bør tillade mennesker, der tilhører en anden race eller etnisk gruppe end de fleste danskere, at flytte hertil?

- ○ Tillade mange at flytte hertil
- ○ Tillade en del
- ○ Tillade nogle få
- ○ Ikke tillade nogen
- ○ Ved ikke



Bliver Danmark et bedre eller dårligere sted at bo af, at mennesker fra andre lande flytter hertil?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Ved ikke
0: Dårligere sted at bo. 10: Bedre sted at bo.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

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72%

Folk siger, at de følgende ting er vigtige for at være rigtig dansk. Andre siger, at de ikke er så vigtige.

Hvor vigtig synes du, at hvert af de følgende ting er?

	Meget vigtigt	Temmelig vigtigt	Ikke særlig vigtigt	Slet ikke vigtigt	Ved ikke
At være født i Danmark. Hvor vigtigt er det for at være rigtig dansk?	○	○	○	○	○
At respektere danske politiske institutioner og love. Hvor vigtigt er det for at være rigtig dansk?	○	○	○	○	○
At have dansk familiebaggrund. Hvor vigtigt er det for at være rigtig dansk?	○	○	○	○	○
At kunne tale dansk. Hvor vigtigt er det for at være rigtig dansk?	○	○	○	○	○
At have levet det meste af sit liv i Danmark. Hvor vigtigt er det for at være rigtig dansk?	○	○	○	○	○

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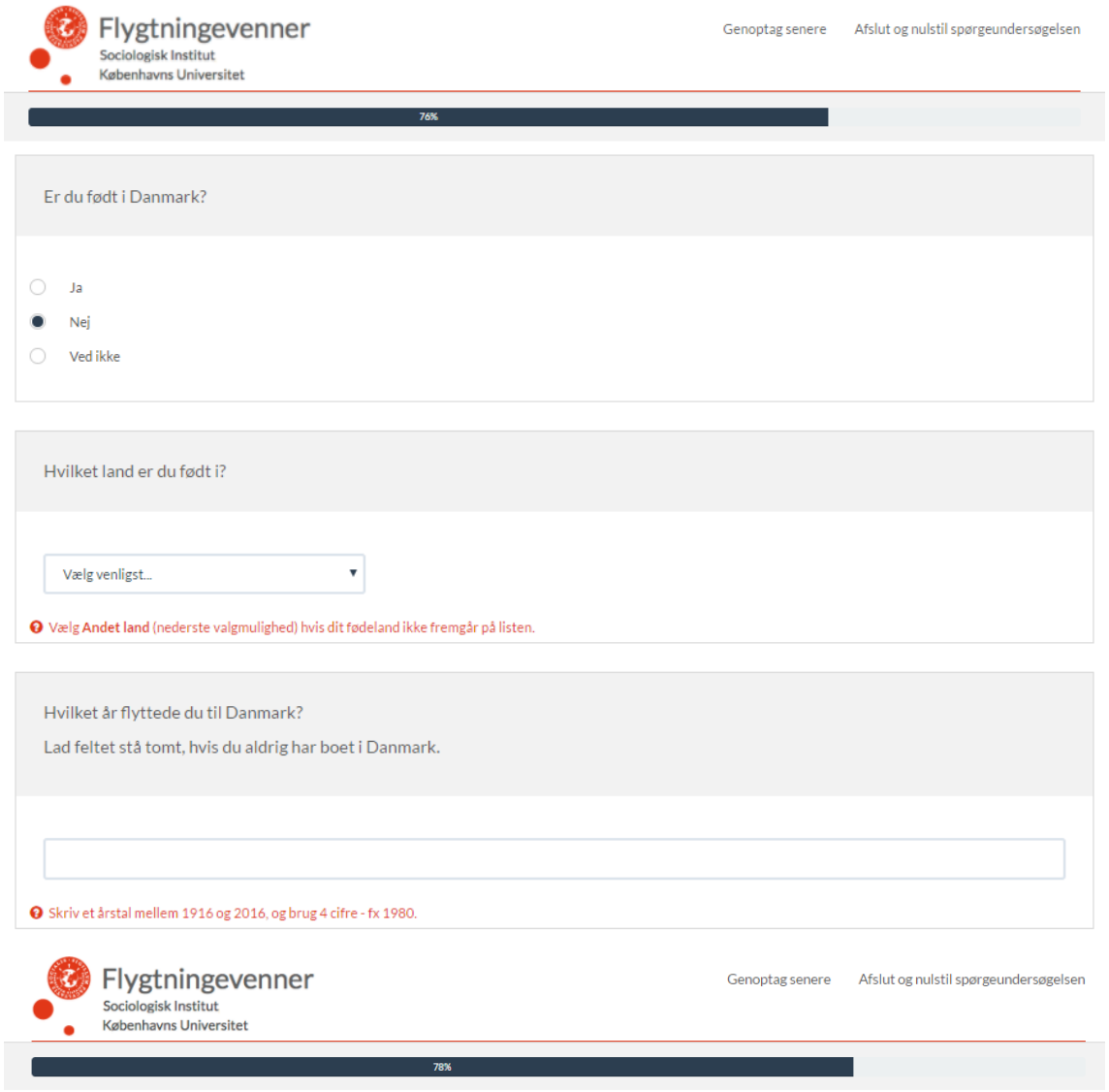
74%

Til slut vil vi spørge dig om en række generelle emner.

I hvilket år er du født?

Skriv et årstal mellem 1916 og 2016, og brug 4 cifre - fx 1980.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76%
Er du født i Danmark?
Ja
Nej
Ved ikke
Hvilket land er du født i?
Vælg venligst...
Vælg Andet land (nederste valgmulighed) hvis dit fødeland ikke fremgår på listen.
Hvilket år flyttede du til Danmark?
Lad feltet stå tomt, hvis du aldrig har boet i Danmark.
Skriv et årstal mellem 1916 og 2016, og brug 4 cifre - fx 1980.
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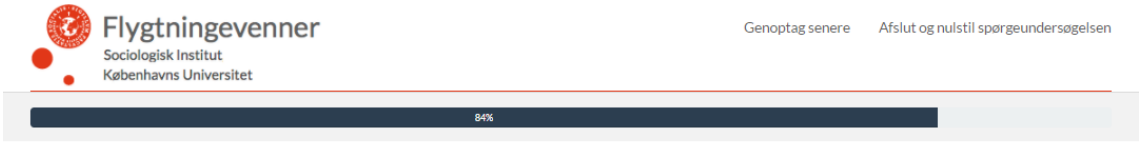
Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen
78%
Hvilke nationaliteter identificerer du dig med?
Vælg op til to lande.
Nationalitet:
Vælg venligst...
Nationalitet:
Vælg venligst...
F.eks. Danmark, Chile eller Tyrkiet.
Vælg Ikke på listen hvis de nationaliteter du identificerer dig med ikke fremgår på listen.

Er du dansk statsborger?

- Ja
- Nej
- Ved ikke

Hvad er den højeste uddannelse du har gennemført?

- Folkeskole
- Gymnasiale uddannelser, studentereksamen, HF, HHX, HTX
- Erhvervsuddannelse, Arbejdsmarkedsuddannelser, Basisår på Erhvervsfaglige uddannelser, faglært, Social- og sundhedsassistentuddannelsen
- Kort eller mellemlang videregående uddannelse. F.eks. Erhvervsakademiuddannelser, datamatiker, professionsbachelor, diplomingeniør, sygeplejerske, skolelærer.
- Lang videregående uddannelse. F.eks. universitetsbachelor, kandidatuddannelse, Ph.d.
- Ved ikke
- Andet:



Hvad er din stilling?

- Fuldtidsansat
- Deltidsansat
- Selvstændig
- Under uddannelse
- Arbejdssøgende
- Førtidspensionist
- Folkepensionist
- Asylansøger
- Andet:

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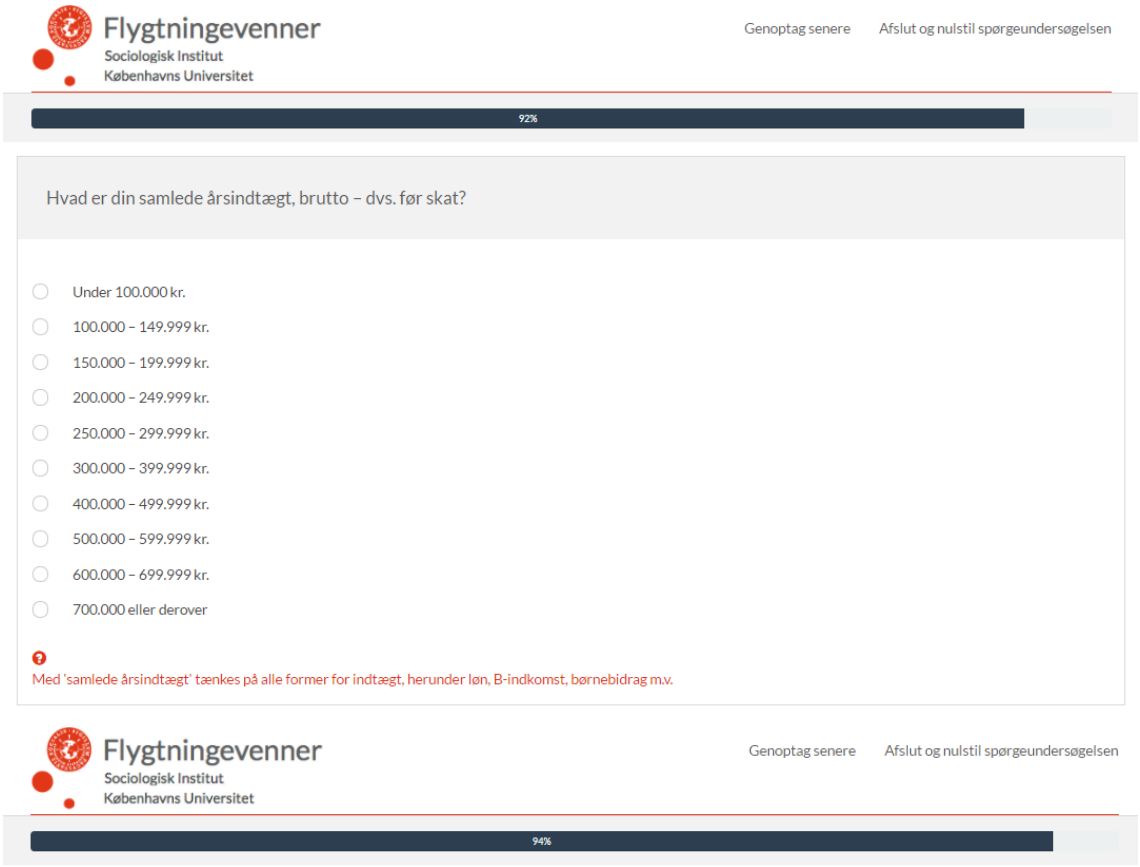
Bruger du erfaringer og kompetencer fra dit arbejde (nuværende eller tidligere) eller din uddannelse i dine aktiviteter i forbindelse med flygtningesagen?

	Ja	Nej
Skrevet og kommenteret opslag på Facebook	○	○
Liket eller delt opslag på Facebook	○	○
Underskriftsindsamlinger	○	○
Indsamlet og doneret tøj, møbler m.m. til flygtninge	○	○
Indsamlet eller givet penge til flygtninge	○	○
Tværkulturelle aktiviteter såsom fællesspisning, udflugter, undervisning o.lign	○	○
Været særligt tilknyttet en flygtning eller flygtningefamilie, f.eks. som kontaktperson	○	○
Deltaget i demonstrationer og events	○	○
Deltaget i ulydighedsaktioner	○	○
Hjulpet asylansøgere med deres asylsager, som f.eks. bisidder, tolk eller juridisk hjælp	○	○
Haft en asylansøger eller flygtning boende privat	○	○
Modtagelse og assistance til flygtninge netop ankommet til Danmark eller i transit	○	○
Transporteret flygtninge som skulle ind eller ud af landet i skjul for myndighederne	○	○
Skjult flygtninge for myndighederne	○	○
Givet økonomisk eller på anden vis materiel støtte til flygtninge under jorden	○	○
På anden måde hjulpet flygtninge under jorden	○	○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Genoptag senere
Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen
92%
Hvad er din samlede årsindtægt, brutto – dvs. før skat?
Under 100.000 kr.
100.000 – 149.999 kr.
150.000 – 199.999 kr.
200.000 – 249.999 kr.
250.000 – 299.999 kr.
300.000 – 399.999 kr.
400.000 – 499.999 kr.
500.000 – 599.999 kr.
600.000 – 699.999 kr.
700.000 eller derover
Med 'samlede årsindtægt' tænkes på alle former for indtægt, herunder løn, B-indkomst, børnebidrag m.v.


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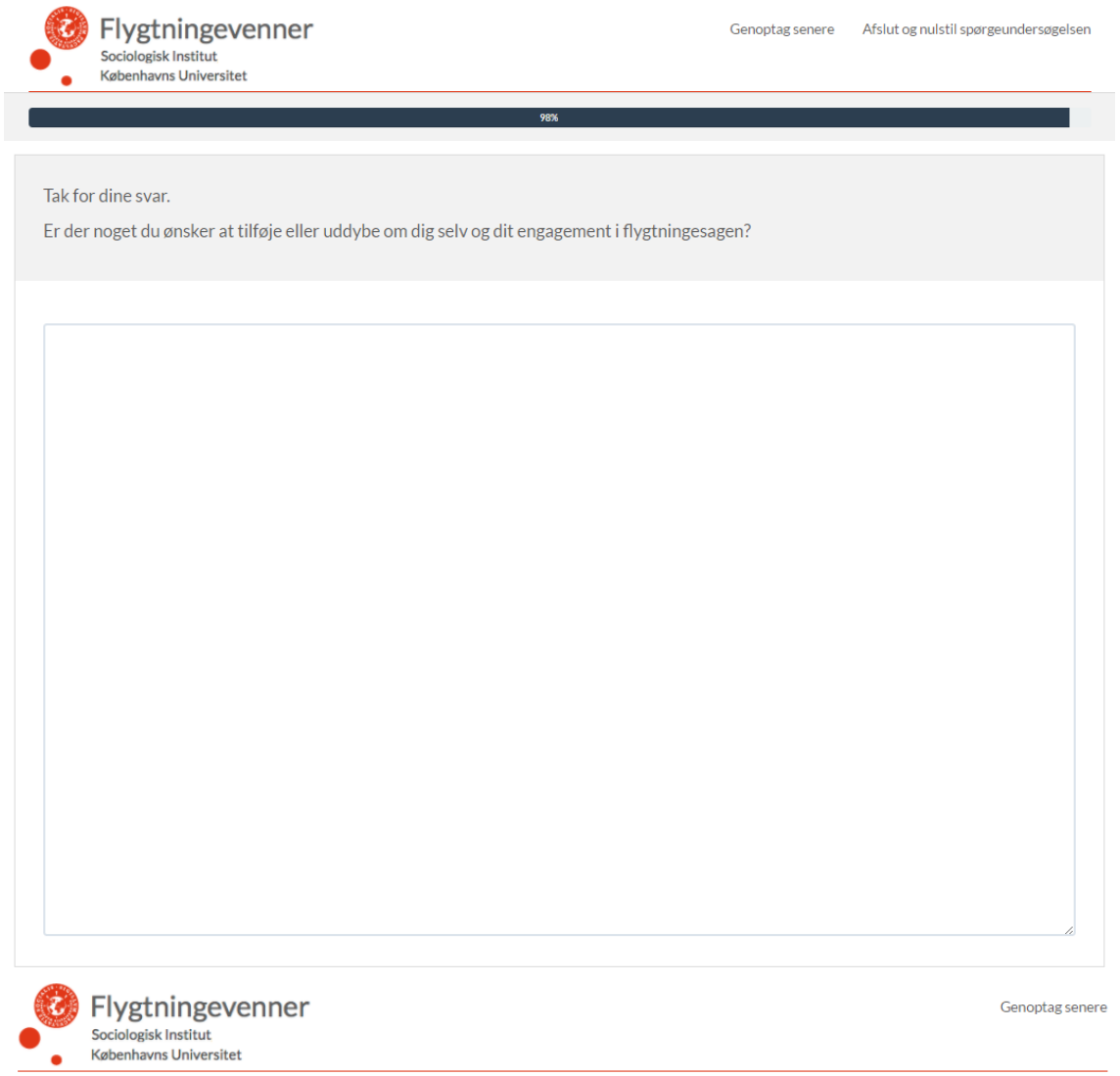
Genoptag senere
Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen
94%
Til slut vil vi høre om vi må benytte nogle informationer om din Facebook-aktivitet til vores forskning. Det drejer sig om din offentlige profil og din venneliste.
Ønsker du at dele disse informationer med os?
Ja
Nej


Flygtningevenner
Sociologisk Institut
Københavns Universitet
Genoptag senere
Afslut og nulstil spørgeundersøgelsen
98%
Tak for dine svar.
Er der noget du ønsker at tilføje eller uddybe om dig selv og dit engagement i flygtningesagen?
Flygtningevenner
Sociologisk Institut
Københavns Universitet
Genoptag senere
Der er ikke flere spørgsmål og dine svar er gemt.
Tusind tak for, at du tog dig tid til at besvare skemaet. Det har stor betydning for undersøgelsen.
Venlig hilsen Peter Gundelach og Jonas Toubøl
Afslut og forlad undersøgelsen

2.4 Invitation posted in Facebook for a to participate in survey

BIDRAG TIL FORSKNING OM FLYGTNINGEVENNER

Kære flygtningeven!

Vi er to forskere fra Københavns Universitet, professor Peter Gundelach og Ph.d.-stipendiat Jonas Toubøl, som igennem flere år har forsket i flygtningevenner. I den forbindelse inviterer vi alle flygtningevenner i [Den relevante Facebook gruppe/side] og de over 200 andre grupper på Facebook til at deltage i en spørgeskemaundersøgelse. Formålet er at få mere viden om, hvem og hvorfor man deltager i flygtningesolidariske aktiviteter. Forskningen er også tænkt som et indspil i debatten om, hvor vores samfund er på vej hen i lyset af flygtningesituationen.
Vi vil gerne have så mange og så forskellige flygtningevenner med som muligt, så om du er meget aktiv og kender mange flygtninge eller blot følger med på Facebook er ikke afgørende. Alles svar er værdifulde for os.
På forhånd mange tak for din deltagelse! Det er en stor hjælp!

Du kan deltage med følgende link til undersøgelsen på Københavns Universitets server:

[Link]

(Hvis linket ikke virker, kopier det direkte ind i browseren)

Med venlig hilsen

Peter Gundelach & Jonas Toubøl
Sociologisk Institut, Københavns Universitet

Appendices for chapter 7

Block 1. Dependent variables

Low-risk activity. Number of kinds of low-risk activity

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	120	6.47	6.47
2	216	11.64	18.1
3	272	14.66	32.76
4	329	17.73	50.48
5	314	16.92	67.4
6	268	14.44	81.84
7	184	9.91	91.76
8-10	153	8.24	100.00
Total	1856	100.00	

High-risk activity. Number of kinds of high-risk activity

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	1,543	83.14	83.14
1	241	12.98	96.12
2	38	2.05	98.17
3-5	34	1.83	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Block 2. Biographical availability, emotions, and structural availability (networks)

Occupation. Work time

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Full time	787	42.40	42.40
Other	1,069	57.60	100.00
	1,856	100.00	

Parenthood. Children living at home

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
No	1,059	57.06	57.06
Yes	797	42.94	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Compassion. "I felt compassion for the refugees."

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	24	1.29	1.29
2	26	1.40	2.69
3	85	4.58	7.27
4	388	20.91	28.18
5	1,333	71.82	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Responsibility. "I felt a responsibility to help the refugees."

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	32	1.72	1.72
2	30	1.62	3.34
3	158	8.51	11.85
4	474	25.54	37.39
5	1,162	62.61	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Anger. "I got angry with the authorities and politicians handling of the refugees."

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	63	3.39	3.39
2	89	4.80	8.19
3	188	10.13	18.32
4	349	18.80	37.12
5	1,167	62.88	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Personal invitation. "Were you invited to join by a person?"

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
No	928	50.00	50.00
Colleagues or acquaintances	252	13.58	63.58
Friends, family, other activists	676	36.42	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Organizational invitation. "Were you invited to join in a newsletter or a meeting in an association?"

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
No	1,712	92.24	92.24
Encouraged by association	144	7.76	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Block 3. Structural availability (networks), and socialization

Active before September. Time of recruitment

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Became active in September 2015 or later	809	43.59	43.59
Was active before September 2015	1,047	56.41	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Prior history of refugee activism. Number of kinds of activities

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	1,023	55.12	55.12
1	431	23.22	78.34
2	177	9.54	87.88
3	86	4.63	92.51
4	63	3.39	95.91
5-8	76	4.09	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Prior history of other activism. Number of kinds of activities

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	560	30.17	30.17
1	421	22.68	52.86
2	338	18.21	71.07
3	212	11.42	82.49
4	142	7.65	90.14
5-8	183	9.86	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Organizational capital

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0-3	74	3.99	3.99
4-5	255	13.74	17.73
6-7	497	26.78	44.50
8-11	826	44.50	89.00
12-18	204	11.00	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Block 4. View of life (basic human values)

View life as given. Self-transcendent values score on scale 4-20

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
4-13	61	3.29	3.29
14	71	3.83	7.11
15	139	7.49	14.60
16	211	11.37	25.97
17	337	18.16	44.13
18	387	20.85	64.98
19	379	20.42	85.40
20	271	14.60	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

View oneself as master as master of life. Self-enhancement values score on scale 4-20

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
4-5	155	8.35	8.35
6-7	266	14.33	22.68
8-9	436	23.49	46.17
10-11	466	25.11	71.28
12-13	324	17.46	88.74
14-15	144	7.76	96.50
16-20	65	3.50	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Block 5. Personal properties

Personal gross-income pr. year. (DKK/USD exchange rate=7)

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
<149.999 DKK	294	15.84	15.84
150.000-249.999 DKK	327	17.62	33.46
250.000-399.999 DKK	615	33.14	66.59
400.000-599.999 DKK	463	24.95	91.54
>600.000 DKK	157	8.46	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Highest level of educational attainment

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Elementary school	56	3.02	3.02
High school	131	7.06	10.08
Vocational training	153	8.24	18.32
Short and medium cycle higher edu.	795	42.83	61.15
Long cycle higher education	721	38.85	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Gender

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Female	1,563	84.21	84.21
Male	279	15.03	99.25
Neither	14	0.75	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Age

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
<21	33	1.78	1.78
21-30	230	12.39	14.17
31-40	339	18.27	32.44
41-50	414	22.31	54.74
51-60	389	20.96	75.70
61-70	364	19.61	95.31
>70	87	4.69	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Appendices for chapter 8

Appendix 8.1. Summary of a case analyses of the first friendly people group.

This first group is historically central to the whole movement as it was the first "Friendly People" group and its specific history has great consequence for the way in which humanitarian action would be practiced and political denunciation would be viewed and resisted. This "Friendly People" group started as an initiative with nothing to do with refugees. Its conceptual and practical development came out of involvement with social welfare work (with socioeconomically deprived residential areas, old people's homes) and a group of people working toward making their municipality "the most friendly municipality in the country." A year or so before refugees moved to the center of the group's activities, it was founded as a place where people learned to see, appreciate, and be more friendly in their everyday lives. As *the* central actor in the group put in her updated "group description:"

> 'Do you want to make Hjørring municipality the friendliest in the country? Vi are a bunch of people from Hjørring that have gotten the idea that friendliness is something we can spread. We are called "The Friendly People" and we really want a lot of members. This page is meant as a source of inspiration. Vi want to inspire people to focus on the joy of receiving kindness and the joy of being kind. We will give you small friendliness-assignments and hope that many people will write on this page and tell about the kinds of friendly engagement they have experienced. All the best "The Friendly People".'

This post is followed by a lot of small posts about how to make our everyday lives a bit friendlier. A video of seemly random people on the street bluntly stating how much they appreciate the other person that they were walking with—looking straight at them while the others blush, smile and laugh. One of the co-founders tells how they were at the beach with lots of foods, drinks, and so on to enjoy themselves. Next to them was an elderly couple with nothing. So, the women went over to them and asked if they wanted some coffee and cake. The couple were extremely surprised and said that they would never forget this and that the experience had made their day into a marvelous one.

From the beginning, this commitment to the small acts of friendliness, to a positive mood, and to sharing and spreading friendliness was that which made a "Friendly Person." As another of its early members put it: 'A Friendly Person always has sunshine in

his heart on cloudy day. A Friendly Person brings light and warmth to your everyday. A Friendly person understands how to listen when life is against you. Wonderful to be surrounded by Friendly People.'

Although the positive affirmation of what made a Friendly Person was rather well articulated and a recurring ritual, there was very little about the other, the unfriendly people, even as the group started to be deeply committed to the refugee issue. The most dramatic illustration of this is the lack of reference to any of the many immigrant-hostile politicians or parties that during the period of the study were elected to the Danish Parliament. I found only one reference to the most iconic anti-immigrant personality of the time, a post that was not applauded with likes or comments. Not even an ironic depiction of absurd unfriendly activity received any attention. There is only one reference to the large national conservative Danish People's Party, and this is in a comment in which the author states her dislike toward the us/them distinctions and illustrates the fruitfulness of friendliness through her pleasant experience with a DF representative resulting from her own initial friendliness. The post with a clearest negative identification and with support from a central figure in the group was posted rather early before the national fame of the FP movement. Here, a certain anger and resentment toward the tone, prejudice, and generalizations against immigrants communicate clearly from the text. However, it does this while still focusing on being open, friendly, and respectful of diversity and does not get more "political" than that. Its position is one of common decency rather than radical politics.

The group is also strongly embedded in their local community, both in their self-understanding, their practices, and the motives for becoming a refugee grass-root initiative. The refugees first became a concern when they came to the municipality, and the goal was to make them "feel welcome with us." The help that was initially proposed was everyday material stuff and "social events." That is, to begin with, we here have nothing about juridical help or political solidarity and support. In several descriptions of the initiative, one of the leading figures says that she was worried about how the local community might react to refugees and that she sensed some negative sentiments and prejudice. The initiative was also intended to counteract these local negative sentiments by creating a platform for cross-cultural interaction. The very few claim-making efforts I found in the group were also directed against the local community, as when AJ states that she agrees with MBP in that their "local area could do more to make people feel welcome." One of the group's first activities was to cycle refugees around town to show them around.

The group boundaries, their definition and enactment of good membership, their speech norms, and the mood within the group point to a certain "Friendly style" in

which humanitarian action simply is an extension of generally friendly engagement with the world. Political denunciation breaches all aspects of the scene style, and, most dramatically, political expression and political "objects" seem to resonate very little within the group at large; unlike other groups, there was no need to discourage political talk because it seldom happened and attracted very little attention. In many of the other humanitarian-only groups studied, the administrators had to remind people of the non-political focus of the group. This friendly style had consequences for the type of activity which the group facilitated. While Christmas arrangements were hugely popular, the biggest national refugee political event, a large demonstration, was largely ignored. It should also be noted that their anti-political position was not a strategic position from the outset to appeal to a culturally and politically diverse countryside population; their history does not support such an interpretation.

Appendix 8.2. Content analysis of contentious expressions on social media

In the following, we describe the procedure for automating content analysis allowing us to measure contentious expressions in the communications of the refugee solidarity movement. It shows how natural language processing and machine learning algorithms can be tailored to replicate evaluations made by qualitative researchers with a reasonably high accuracy (0.99 vs. 0.90 baseline predicting negative every time), allowing qualitative research questions to scale.

The social media data collection was carried out using the Facebook Graph API, which is publicly available. This allowed us to collect the online activity (posting, commenting, and liking) of 310 Facebook groups, amounting to 643,636 posts and comments, and more than 1.8 million likes. We wish to measure the level of contentious activity in the groups, a task requiring us to read all the 600,000+ posts and comments. Instead of doing all of this by hand, we use techniques from the field of machine learning, and natural language processing to extract information from text. By feeding a machine learning algorithm labeled examples (a random sample of 12,500 posts and comments), we can train a model to differentiate between contentious and non-contentious activity. The following section will describe the procedure and the performance of the resulting model in more detail.

Constructing the labeled dataset

Most importantly, the model was trained on a random sample of our original dataset; this means that we can generalize the performance of the model on the labeled subset to the whole dataset. A coding scheme was developed to annotate the sample dataset qualitatively, and it was carried out with an overlap to ensure cross-coder reliability. Given the relative rarity of contentious acts in the predominantly humanitarian movement, we had to label a relatively large sample to ensure enough training samples of the rare class. The labeled sample includes 11,210 non-contentious training examples and 1,290 contentious. This skew is also important in the evaluation of our model.

Representing text as a feature vector

Before training our models, we need to transform each text example into a vector carrying the information needed to predict the label. The following provides a brief overview of the variety of feature extraction techniques applied.

First, a very simple tokenization scheme was applied, using no stemming techniques, no named entity recognition, or n-grams, only whitespace separation and de-

tection of punctuations[31]. For each token/word, we then calculated a simple probability: What is the probability of a contentious label given the word—P(contentious | w=word). A Bayesian posterior distribution was calculated using the prior distribution P(contentious) times the observed distribution P(w|contentious). As many words occur rarely, even a 100% association with contentious statements might be a coincidence. The Bayesian approach allows us to build in the certainty we have of word-label associations.

Using this technique, each word in the training set can now be transformed into a posterior probability estimate[32], however, words not occurring in the training set will not tell us anything. To counter this, we applied a widely used technique to embed contextual knowledge into words, the Word2Vec word embedding (Mikolov *et al.* 2013). Here, a relatively small neural network is trained to predict a word's true context, for example, determine whether the word cat is true or false in the following context "the model input is a /cat/ of dimensions n times m." using only a latent representation of each word. This latent representation, that is, embedding of each word, has been used successfully for many machine learning tasks (Baroni *et al.* 2014; Kim 2014; Schnabel *et al.* 2015) and has been shown to capture similarities between words effectively (Schnabel et al. 2015)[33]. This technique allows us to model knowledge from any unlabeled text-corpora, independent of our supervised model training. Embeddings trained on, for example, Wikipedia can be downloaded and used off the shelf. However, we decided to train the model on our dataset to capture the specific word similarities embedded in the practice of the movement[34].

Using this representation of each word allowed us to combine the probability distributions of each word with similar words (essentially removing the need for more sophisticated tokenization procedures such as stemming), gaining stronger certainty of rare words or words not present in the training set. From here, each document (post or comment) was then represented with a variety of pooling methods. Using only the word most highly associated with contentious labels (i.e. max pooling), summing the probabilities of the top five words, and an average of all words. Furthermore, two oth-

[31] More sophisticated tokenization procedures might yield better results, however the word2vec representation described, allows us to pool similar words thereby making stemming less crucial.

[32] We expressed it as a 95% quantile of the posterior distribution

[33] Even the ability to extract meaningful relational information using simple linear algebra. Famous example being: king - man = queen

[34] Training was done on the full dataset of movement activities using the open-source NLP python package Gensim (ref)

er unsupervised techniques were used to represent each document: Latent Dirichlet Allocation (Blei *et al.* 2003) and Doc2Vec (Le and Mikolov 2014).

Supervised learning and model performance

After representing each text as a vector using the above procedure, the supervised learning could start. The training was carried out using standard cross validation techniques, splitting the labeled sample—75/25—into a training set used for training and a test set used only to inspect the model performance. Model selection was made using state-of-the-art automated machine learning techniques as described in Olson and Moore (2016). Instead of tediously experimenting with different classification algorithms, this evolutionary algorithm searches the space of models combining a wide range of preprocessing (e.g., dimensionality reduction), classification, and ensemble building algorithms, into the most successful pipelines. The important thing here is to set the objective function, that is, that for which we want to optimize. Since the approach we describe here is one of effectively tailoring content analysis for this unique research purpose, we do not want a model that can be applied to any context to find contentious expressions. Therefore, we set the objective function to a simple measure of accuracy (percentage of correctly labeled predictions)—in contrast to a balanced class accuracy that will not be biased by the base rates of each class.

We then allowed this evolutionary algorithm to search the space of optimal models (within the training dataset only!), combining various preprocessing and classification methods. The result was a classifier that finds the correct answer 98,5% of the time in our test dataset. This should be seen in relation to the base rates of each class, that is, contentious expressions represent only 10% of the sample. This means that a model always predicting non-contentious would have an accuracy of 90%. Our model does significantly better; however, looking closer we do see that the model is strongly biased for underestimating contentious expressions. In effect, it captures only 75% (True positives / Positives) of all contentious expressions, but with only a small fraction of False positives—7% (False positives / Positives). The analysis assumes this underestimation bias to be distributed independently of the dependent variable.

The resulting classifier was then applied to the full dataset of posts and comments allowing us to estimate dynamic expressions of contention in each group used in our regression analysis to understand what factors play a role in the development of a political activist.

Appendix 8.3. Items included in focal variable, political protest

Activities	Political protest?		
	Yes		No
1. Posting on Facebook		×	
2. Liking and sharing Facebook posts		×	
3. Petitioning	×		
4. Collecting and donating materials			×
5. Collecting and donating money			×
6. Intercultural activity			×
7. Contact-person for refugees			×
8. Demonstrations and happenings	×		
9. Civil disobedience/direct action	×		
10. Legal assistance			×
11. Assisting newly arrived refugees			×
12. Illegal transportation of refugees	×		
13. Hiding refugees from authorities	×		
14. Econ. support to underground refugees	×		
15. Other support to underground refugees	×		
16. Refugees living in private home			×

Note: Item 1 and 2 concerning activity on Facebook cannot be allocated to any of the categories because the activity could be both political protest, as in posting political statements, and non-contentious, as in coordination donations to refugees.

Appendix 8.4. Linear random intercept multilevel models of involvement in political protest (0-4)

Covariate	1. Focal relationship		2. Framing & network		3. All controls	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Group level						
Contentious group style	6.142***	1.42	4.414**	1.364	3.549**	1.070
Contentious framing			0.709**	0.226	0.544**	0.197
Individual level						
Personal network			0.025	0.028	0.025	0.026
Organizational network			-0.097	0.106	-0.030	0.097
Political civil society emb.			0.068***	0.015	0.045**	0.014
Non-political civil society emb.			-0.034**	0.012	-0.006	0.012
Active before September			0.304***	0.012	0.236**	0.047
History of activism					-	0.019
History of refugee activism					0.138**	0.024
Emotional response					0.147**	0.025
Self-transcendent values					0.034*	0.013
Self-enhancement values					-	0.017
Political attitude					-	0.028
Religion						
Non-believer					Reference	
Danish National Church					-	0.058
Islam					-0.012	0.190
Other					0.069	0.118
Frequency of church attendance					-0.022	0.025
Occupation						
Full time					Reference	
Part time					-0.112	0.089
Self-employed					0.037	0.085
Student					0.067	0.125
Unemployed					-0.056	0.137
Early retirement					0.030	0.134
Retired					-0.219	0.133
Other					-0.190	0.117
Worktime					-0.011	0.022
Children					0.000	0.058
Age					0.022	0.016
Age^2					0.000	0.000
Income					-0.005	0.029
Highest level of education					0.036	0.026
Gender						
Female					Reference	
Male					0.035	0.068
Identify as neither					0.514	0.307
Degree of urbanization					0.060**	0.022
Refugee					0.035	0.141
Constant	0.515	0.06	-0.769**	0.241	-	0.526
Random effects	*Estimate*	*S.E.*	*Estimate*	*S.E.*	*Esti-*	*S.E.*
S.D. constant	0.254	0.03	0.213	0.035	0.135	0.032
S.D. residual	0.876	0.01	0.853	0.017	0.787	0.016
Intra-class correlation	0.077		0.062		0.059	
Degrees of freedom	1		6		7	
Log likelihood	-1649.249		-1628.198		-1609.530	

Note: *=p-value<0.05; **=p-value<0.01; ***=p-value<0.001. Total individual observations in all models=1,259. Total groups in all models=75. Coefficients are unstandardized.

Appendix 8.5. Comments to controls in model 3, table 4

Considering the controls in model 3 of Table 4 (and appendix 8.4, model 3), the variables measuring the history of activism are both significant. However, it is only prior refugee-specific activism that has a positive effect. A history of activism related to other issues has a negative effect. We take this to indicate that not any experience but only particular experience of refugee solidarity activism is embodied in a way advancing a habit of contentious activity in relation to this issue which has affect during and after the September Mobilization. This is also the interpretation of the Veteran dummy indicating that veterans are more involved in contentious activity. The variables measuring predisposition of values and political attitudes behave meaningfully. Strong adherence to *self-transcendent values,* implying a sensitivity toward and awareness of one's action's influence on other people's lives and fortune and vice versa, is positively and significantly related to the degree of contentious activity. Political attitude suggests that the more left-wing, the more contentious. A left-wing political stance is often associated with a perception of being in opposition to established society which would influence a more contentious approach to the matter of immigration and refugee politics. The estimates for religious attitudes we interpret the same way. The variable estimates that members of the National Church are less likely to engage in activism. We take membership in the National Church to indicate a more conservative and conventional lifestyle which, in contrast to the left-wing activist, implies a harmonious perception of established society, not inviting to contentious activity. Finally, frequency of church attendance is insignificant. The emotional response variable has a positive and significant relation to contentious activity as expected. The socioeconomic indicators of income, occupation, work time, and education, do not have significant effects. Nor have the variables of gender, age, and resident children, and being a refugee. This implies that biographical availability seems not to play a role in this matter. Residential degree of urbanization is significant in predicting that the more urban the more contentious the activism.

Appendix 8.6. Logistic regression models of involvement in political protest for newcomers

Covariate	1. Focal relationship		2. Framing & network		3. All controls	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Group level						
Contentious group style	10.087***	2.770	9.369**	2.850	7.371*	3.313
Contentious framing			1.029	0.976	0.300	0.944
Individual level						
Personal network			-0.025	0.092	-0.008	0.107
Organizational network			-0.176	0.388	-0.110	0.430
Political civil society embed.			0.160**	0.054	0.085	0.061
Other civil society embed.			-0.133**	0.043	-0.036	0.053
History of activism					-0.108	0.075
History of refugee activism					0.390***	0.108
Emotional response					0.552***	0.122
Self-transcendent values					0.108	0.055
Self-enhancement values					-0.108	0.067
Political attitude					-0.500***	0.113
Religion						
Non-believer					Reference	
Danish National Church					-0.464*	0.228
Islam					-0.143	0.789
Other					0.557	0.473
Freq. of church attendance					-0.019	0.104
Occupation						
Full time					Reference	
Part time					-0.328	0.344
Self-employed					-0.321	0.353
Student					-0.190	0.513
Unemployed					-0.615	0.487
Early retirement					-0.799	0.528
Retired					-0.633	0.606
Other					-0.673	0.482
Worktime					-0.104	0.090
Children					0.009	0.258
Age					0.045	0.072
Age^2					-0.001	0.001
Income					0.014	0.124
Highest level of education					-0.076	0.109
Gender						
Female					Reference	
Male					0.272	0.276
Identify as neither					-0.561	1.467
Degree of urbanization					0.147	0.087
Refugee					0.208	0.727
Constant	-.504***	0.142	-1.63	1.02	-2.838	2.706
Pseudo R^2	0.017		0.039		0.180	
Degrees of freedom	1		6		33	
Log likelihood	-428.751		-419.122		-357.718	

Note. *=p-value<0.05; **=p-value<0.01; ***=p-value<0.001. S.E. are robust. Observations in all models=630. Coefficients are unstandardized.

Appendix 8.7. Logistic regression models of involvement in political protest for Veterans

Covariate	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	P-value
Group level			
Contentious group style	10.218	2.941	0.001
Contentious framing	-0.247	0.623	0.692
Individual level			
Personal network	-0.031	0.101	0.761
Organizational network	0.105	0.351	0.766
Political civil society embeddedness	0.087	0.050	0.081
Non-political civil society embeddedness	-0.049	0.044	0.267
History of activism	-0.303	0.081	0.000
History of refugee activism	0.397	0.098	0.000
Emotional response	0.483	0.106	0.000
Self-transcendent values	0.148	0.053	0.005
Self-enhancement values	-0.062	0.068	0.358
Political attitude	-0.412	0.120	0.001
Religion			
Non-believer		Reference	
Danish National Church	-0.391	0.236	0.099
Islam	-0.229	0.787	0.772
Other	0.055	0.436	0.900
Frequency of church attendance	-0.168	0.096	0.079
Occupation			
Full time		Reference	
Part time	-0.760	0.330	0.022
Self-employed	0.497	0.302	0.100
Student	-0.041	0.496	0.934
Unemployed	0.052	0.668	0.938
Early retirement	0.885	0.724	0.222
Retired	0.106	0.515	0.837
Other	0.079	0.483	0.870
Worktime	0.019	0.092	0.839
Children	0.095	0.224	0.673
Age	0.045	0.063	0.478
Age^2	0.000	0.001	0.523
Income	-0.062	0.116	0.594
Highest level of education	0.194	0.100	0.053
Gender			
Female		Reference	
Male	-0.30	0.28	0.28
Identify as neither	0.77	0.96	0.43
Degree of urbanization	0.24	0.08	0.00
Refugee	-0.43	0.45	0.34
Constant	-2.46	1.93	0.20
Pseudo R^2		0.219	
Degrees of freedom		33	
Log likelihood		-376.33	

Note: S.E. are robust. Observations=734. Coefficients are unstandardized.

Appendix 8.8. Logistic regression models of involvement in political protest by prior experience of activism

Covariate	No experience (n=762)			Experienced (n=602)		
	Coef.	Robust S.E.	P-value	Coef.	Robust S.E.	P-value
Group level						
Contentious group style	13.961	3.336	0.000	5.640	2.650	0.033
Contentious framing	0.693	0.956	0.468	-0.794	0.712	0.265
Individual level						
Personal network	-0.050	0.099	0.610	0.034	0.114	0.765
Organizational network	-0.281	0.333	0.399	0.261	0.438	0.551
Political civil society embed.	0.119	0.053	0.025	0.067	0.058	0.247
Other civil society embed.	-0.013	0.044	0.761	-0.083	0.052	0.111
History of activism	-0.344	0.077	0.000	-0.077	0.084	0.359
History of refugee activism		N/A		0.342	0.104	0.001
Emotional response	0.590	0.106	0.000	0.367	0.116	0.002
Self-transcendent values	0.110	0.052	0.035	0.166	0.055	0.002
Self-enhancement values	-0.080	0.063	0.204	-0.092	0.072	0.202
Political attitude	-0.435	0.105	0.000	-0.526	0.136	0.000
Religion						
Non-believer		Reference			Reference	
Danish National church	-0.363	0.215	0.092	-0.632	0.246	0.010
Islam	0.614	0.642	0.339	-0.514	0.811	0.527
Other	0.302	0.463	0.515	-0.031	0.431	0.943
Freq. of church attendance	-0.042	0.093	0.651	-0.125	0.104	0.226
Occupation						
Full time		Reference			Reference	
Part time	-0.219	0.304	0.471	-0.851	0.413	0.039
Self employed	-0.044	0.302	0.883	0.294	0.367	0.422
Student	-0.117	0.462	0.800	-0.236	0.565	0.675
Unemployed	-0.274	0.548	0.617	-0.021	0.621	0.973
Early retirement	0.102	0.643	0.874	-0.255	0.578	0.659
Retired	-0.075	0.501	0.880	-0.141	0.582	0.809
Other	-0.004	0.447	0.994	-0.607	0.518	0.241
Worktime	-0.054	0.087	0.532	-0.023	0.102	0.818
Children	-0.255	0.235	0.278	0.332	0.246	0.177
Age	0.039	0.061	0.527	0.031	0.068	0.652
Age^2	0.000	0.001	0.561	0.000	0.001	0.548
Income	0.013	0.108	0.904	-0.029	0.133	0.827
Highest level of education	0.127	0.096	0.187	-0.014	0.114	0.902
Gender						
Female		Reference			Reference	
Male	0.193	0.245	0.431	-0.258	0.275	0.348
Identify as neither	-0.041	2.014	0.984	-0.451	1.089	0.679
Degree of urbanization	0.198	0.074	0.007	0.184	0.086	0.034
Refugee	0.406	0.583	0.486	-1.488	0.750	0.047
Constant	-5.183	2.191	0.018	2.387	2.380	0.316
Pseudo R^2		0.210			0.197	
Degrees of freedom		32			33	
Log likelihood		-417.266			-316.501	

Note: S.E. are robust. Coefficients are unstandardized.

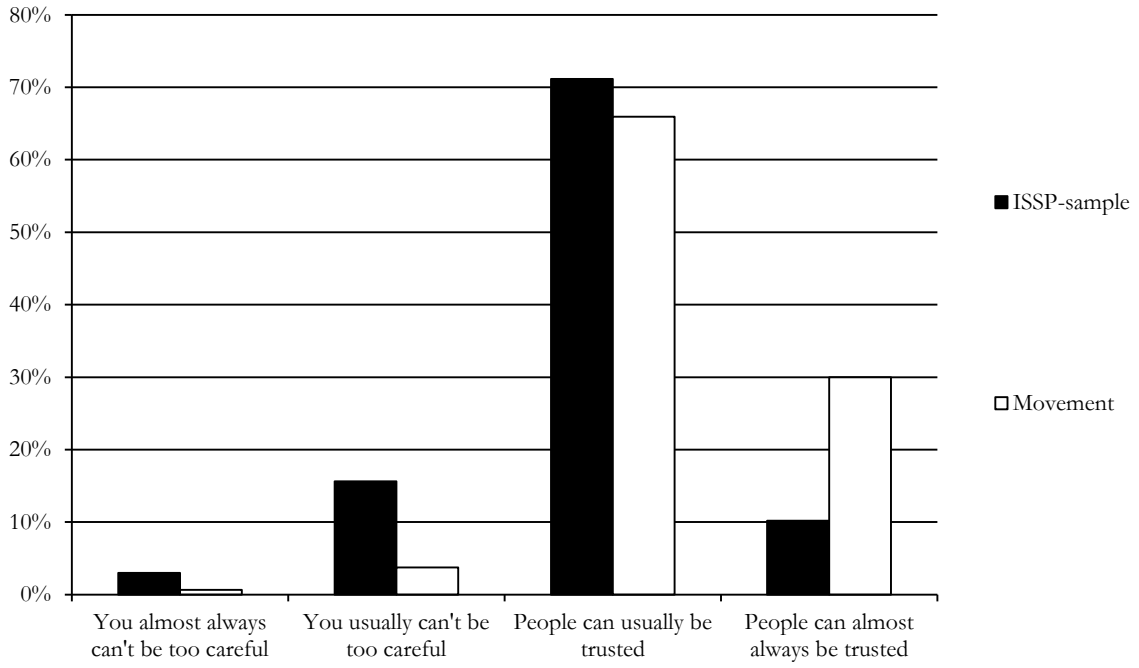
Appendix 8.9. Logistic regression models of involvement in political protest in- and external to group

Covariate	In group (n=673)			Ex. group (n=1,277)		
	Coefficient	Robust	P-value	Coefficient	Robust	P-value
Group level						
Contentious gr. style	20.241	4.471	0.000	7.730	2.097	0.000
Contentious framing		N/A		0.281	0.510	0.581
Individual level						
Personal network	0.097	0.150	0.516	-0.027	0.074	0.715
Organizational net-	0.145	0.545	0.790	-0.133	0.265	0.615
Political civil society	0.123	0.088	0.163	0.094	0.039	0.015
Non-political civil	0.021	0.072	0.775	-0.042	0.033	0.209
History of activism	-0.153	0.127	0.230	-0.237	0.056	0.000
History of refugee	0.450	0.146	0.002	0.414	0.071	0.000
Emotional response	0.588	0.170	0.001	0.485	0.081	0.000
Self-transcendent	0.204	0.082	0.013	0.113	0.039	0.003
Self-enhancement	0.029	0.093	0.752	-0.090	0.047	0.056
Political attitude	-0.276	0.171	0.106	-0.488	0.083	0.000
Religion						
Non-believer		Reference			Reference	
Danish National	-0.029	0.378	0.939	-0.501	0.164	0.002
Islam	-0.995	0.917	0.278	0.191	0.529	0.718
Other	1.044	0.584	0.074	0.244	0.314	0.437
Freq. of church at-	-0.211	0.160	0.186	-0.072	0.071	0.312
Occupation						
Full time		Reference			Reference	
Part time	-0.144	0.569	0.800	-0.494	0.244	0.043
Self employed	0.575	0.486	0.236	0.007	0.235	0.978
Student	0.893	0.628	0.155	-0.216	0.354	0.541
Unemployed	1.386	0.661	0.036	-0.486	0.418	0.245
Early retirement	0.882	0.862	0.306	-0.492	0.410	0.230
Retired	-1.137	0.795	0.153	0.028	0.400	0.944
Other	-0.441	0.677	0.515	-0.332	0.342	0.332
Worktime	0.137	0.130	0.292	-0.074	0.065	0.254
Children	0.606	0.338	0.073	-0.046	0.168	0.782
Age	-0.159	0.085	0.061	0.083	0.047	0.075
Age^2	0.002	0.001	0.024	-0.001	0.000	0.065
Income	0.169	0.176	0.336	-0.047	0.084	0.576
Highest level of edu-	0.108	0.165	0.512	0.058	0.074	0.428
Gender						
Female		Reference			Reference	
Male	-0.455	0.448	0.310	-0.039	0.191	0.838
Identify as neither		N/A		-0.035	0.923	0.969
Degree of urbaniza-	0.262	0.129	0.043	0.191	0.057	0.001
Refugee	-0.762	0.770	0.322	-0.175	0.402	0.664
Constant	-4.693	2.412	0.052	-3.082	1.524	0.043
Pseudo R^2		0.245			0.194	
Degrees of freedom		31			33	
Log likelihood		-195.668			-710.695	

Note: S.E. are robust. Coefficients are unstandardized.

Appendices for chapter 9

9.1. Generalized trust. Comparing Danish population and movement sample



γ-value (A.S.E.): .589 (0.024)	χ^2-value: 377.250***	OLS-regression coefficient[1] (S.E.): .261*** (0.022)

***=p<.001

[1] The following controls were included: *Gender, age, education, employment status, children at home, civil status, residence degree of urbanization, prior history of activism, political attitude.* See appendix 9.4 for estimates.

n=3,941

Population is the ISSP-2014 Danish sample.

9.2. Generalized trust (1-4). Comparing movement sample and general population

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	0.261	0.022	0.000	0.218	0.304
Male (0-1)	-0.034	0.021	0.111	-0.076	0.008
Age (Years)	0.002	0.001	0.006	0.001	0.003
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	0.061	0.009	0.000	0.043	0.078
Job status (0-1)	0.054	0.020	0.008	0.014	0.094
Children in household (0-1)	0.018	0.021	0.399	-0.024	0.060
Civil status (0-1)	0.033	0.021	0.115	-0.008	0.075
Residence degree of urbanization (1-5)	-0.005	0.010	0.580	-0.024	0.014
History of activism (0-2)	0.016	0.005	0.002	0.006	0.026
Political attitude (0-10)	-0.022	0.004	0.000	-0.030	-0.015
Constant	2.660	0.060	0.000	2.543	2.777

n=3,732. R^2=.126. df=10. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.3. Trust in parliament (0-10). Comparing movement sample and general population

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	-0.837	0.106	0.000	-1.045	-0.630
Male (0-1)	0.370	0.099	0.000	0.176	0.565
Age (Years)	-0.013	0.003	0.000	-0.018	-0.007
Self-transcendent values (0-4)	-0.067	0.034	0.048	-0.134	0.000
Self-enhancement values (0-4)	0.063	0.070	0.365	-0.074	0.200
Civil status (0-1)	0.403	0.093	0.000	0.220	0.585
Children in household (0-1)	-0.185	0.099	0.060	-0.378	0.008
Residence degree of urbanization (1-5)	0.116	0.035	0.001	0.048	0.184
Political attitude (0-10)	0.092	0.019	0.000	0.055	0.130
Member of national church (0-1)	0.487	0.094	0.000	0.304	0.671
Church attendance frequency (1-5)	0.060	0.039	0.128	-0.017	0.138
Born in Denmark (0-1)	-0.229	0.185	0.216	-0.591	0.134
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	0.286	0.040	0.000	0.208	0.365
Job status (0-1)	-0.045	0.093	0.632	-0.227	0.138
History of activism (0-2)	0.180	0.049	0.000	0.084	0.276
Constant	4.260	0.316	0.000	3.641	4.879

n=3,452. R^2=.099. df=15. General population is ESS round 2014 Danish sample.

9.4. Trust in legal system (0-10). Comparing movement sample and general population

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	-0.249	0.092	0.007	-0.428	-0.069
Male (0-1)	0.210	0.086	0.014	0.042	0.378
Age (Years)	0.003	0.003	0.280	-0.002	0.008
Self-transcendent values (0-4)	0.011	0.029	0.716	-0.047	0.069
Self-enhancement values (0-4)	-0.057	0.061	0.346	-0.176	0.062
Civil status (0-1)	0.304	0.081	0.000	0.146	0.462
Children in household (0-1)	-0.063	0.085	0.461	-0.230	0.104
Residence degree of urbanization (1-5)	0.103	0.030	0.001	0.044	0.162
Political attitude (0-10)	0.078	0.017	0.000	0.046	0.111
Member of national church (0-1)	0.358	0.081	0.000	0.198	0.517
Church attendance frequency (1-5)	-0.005	0.034	0.895	-0.072	0.063
Born in Denmark (0-1)	0.140	0.160	0.383	-0.175	0.454
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	0.246	0.035	0.000	0.178	0.314
Job status (0-1)	-0.056	0.081	0.489	-0.214	0.102
History of activism (0-2)	0.119	0.042	0.005	0.036	0.202
Constant	5.131	0.274	0.000	4.595	5.668

n=3,452. R^2=.055. df=15. General population is ESS round 2014 Danish sample.

9.5. Trust in police (0-10). Comparing movement sample and general population

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	-0.184	0.089	0.038	-0.359	-0.010
Male (0-1)	-0.134	0.083	0.107	-0.297	0.029
Age (Years)	0.001	0.002	0.835	-0.004	0.005
Self-transcendent values (0-4)	0.025	0.029	0.387	-0.031	0.081
Self-enhancement values (0-4)	-0.044	0.059	0.453	-0.159	0.071
Civil status (0-1)	0.258	0.078	0.001	0.105	0.411
Children in household (0-1)	0.126	0.083	0.128	-0.036	0.288
Residence degree of urbanization (1-5)	-0.014	0.029	0.623	-0.072	0.043
Political attitude (0-10)	0.166	0.016	0.000	0.134	0.198
Member of national church (0-1)	0.471	0.079	0.000	0.317	0.626
Church attendance frequency (1-5)	0.059	0.033	0.074	-0.006	0.124
Born in Denmark (0-1)	0.106	0.156	0.495	-0.199	0.411
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	0.038	0.034	0.265	-0.029	0.104
Job status (0-1)	0.049	0.078	0.528	-0.104	0.203
History of activism (0-2)	0.063	0.041	0.124	-0.017	0.144
Constant	6.068	0.265	0.000	5.548	6.588

n=3,452. R^2=.088. df=15. General population is ESS round 2014 Danish sample.

9.6. Probability for loss of institutional trust by number of activities

Covariates	Parliament			Legal system			Police		
	Coef.	S.E.	p-value	Coef.	S.E.	p-value	Coef.	S.E.	p-value
Num. of activities (0-16)	0.167	0.024	0.000	0.130	0.025	0.000	0.090	0.034	0.007
Income (1-10)	-0.114	0.064	0.076	-0.177	0.075	0.018	-0.137	0.106	0.196
Occupation									
Full time	Reference			Reference			Reference		
Part time	0.108	0.203	0.592	0.038	0.240	0.875	0.030	0.344	0.930
Self-employed	-0.101	0.199	0.611	0.602	0.221	0.007	0.229	0.343	0.505
Education	0.031	0.247	0.898	-0.001	0.270	0.996	-0.518	0.371	0.163
Unemployed	0.048	0.328	0.884	0.585	0.340	0.085	-0.020	0.478	0.966
Early retiree	0.048	0.303	0.874	0.469	0.322	0.145	0.134	0.455	0.768
Pensioner	-0.154	0.255	0.546	0.277	0.300	0.355	0.385	0.415	0.354
Other	-0.299	0.249	0.230	0.278	0.293	0.342	0.338	0.399	0.397
Work time (1-5)	-0.041	0.049	0.401	0.034	0.060	0.570	-0.055	0.088	0.529
Education (1-5)	0.024	0.057	0.674	-0.090	0.062	0.147	-0.137	0.083	0.098
Gender									
Female	Reference			Reference			Reference		
Male	-0.100	0.146	0.494	0.023	0.170	0.893	0.612	0.205	0.003
Do not identify as either	-1.454	0.642	0.024	0.054	0.686	0.938	1.259	0.711	0.077
Degree of urban. (1-5)	-0.015	0.044	0.735	-0.037	0.049	0.455	0.050	0.067	0.458
Child. in household. (0-1)	-0.044	0.122	0.722	-0.125	0.139	0.369	-0.532	0.199	0.008
Age (Years)	0.009	0.006	0.122	-0.004	0.007	0.574	-0.016	0.009	0.066
Refugee (0-1)	-0.411	0.312	0.187	0.034	0.321	0.916	-0.324	0.400	0.418
Active party (0-1)	-0.395	0.175	0.024	0.021	0.199	0.915	0.154	0.256	0.549
Active union (0-1)	-0.094	0.163	0.563	0.002	0.189	0.991	0.060	0.251	0.812
Active religious ass. (0-1)	0.088	0.188	0.639	-0.500	0.234	0.033	0.133	0.313	0.671
Active in sports ass. (0-1)	-0.178	0.112	0.109	-0.078	0.133	0.554	-0.257	0.191	0.178
Active in other ass. (0-1)	-0.173	0.113	0.125	0.021	0.128	0.867	0.001	0.175	0.997
Active prior to Sept. (0-1)	0.081	0.107	0.449	0.127	0.125	0.311	0.270	0.177	0.128
History of other act. (0-6)	-0.010	0.042	0.821	-0.051	0.053	0.337	-0.088	0.077	0.256
History of ref. act. (0-5)	0.042	0.055	0.447	0.034	0.064	0.597	0.163	0.088	0.064
Self-transcend, val. (1-8)	0.128	0.029	0.000	0.086	0.035	0.014	0.090	0.049	0.069
Self-enhance. val. (1-8)	0.060	0.037	0.103	-0.012	0.042	0.779	0.061	0.058	0.295
Political attitude (0-10)	-0.278	0.061	0.000	-0.152	0.072	0.036	-0.349	0.105	0.001
Religion									
None	Reference			Reference			Reference		
National Danish Church	0.001	0.131	0.995	-0.142	0.153	0.353	-0.122	0.219	0.576
Islam	-0.163	0.389	0.676	0.400	0.382	0.296	0.846	0.459	0.065
Other	0.140	0.263	0.594	0.247	0.263	0.347	0.343	0.340	0.313
Church attendance (1-5)	-0.013	0.061	0.826	0.085	0.070	0.226	0.029	0.097	0.767
Generalized trust (1-4)	-0.095	0.099	0.339	-0.189	0.113	0.093	-0.080	0.153	0.601
Constant	0.748	0.855	0.382	-0.696	0.926	0.452	-0.658	1.218	0.589
df=33	n=1,910. Pseudo R^2=.072			n=1,910. Pseudo R^2=.064			n=1,910. Pseudo R^2=.099		

9.7. γ-coefficient for relation between activity and decline in institutional trust

Activity	Loss of institutional trust			Avg. org. Cap. (0-18)	n
	Parliament	Legal syst.	Police		
Posting on Facebook	0.31***	0.21***	0.05	7.99	1,447
Liking and sharing Facebook posts	0.32***	0.15*	0.09	7.96	1,706
Petitioning	0.43***	0.30***	0.31***	7.98	1,009
Collecting and donating materials	0.24***	0.01	-0.02	8.05	1,511
Collecting and donating money	0.23***	0.19**	0.11	8.12	1,065
Intercultural activity	0.10*	0.09	-0.03	8.11	1,152
Contact-person for refugees	0.07	0.03	-0.08	8.12	846
Demonstrations and happenings	0.33***	0.31***	0.42***	8.03	597
Civil disobedient direct action	0.25	0.51***	0.64***	8.63	76
legal assistance	0.14*	0.13*	0.22*	8.14	369
Assisting newly arrived refugees	0.24**	0.13	0.16	8.33	195
Illegal transportation of refugees	0.18	0.56***	0.56**	8.10	29
Hiding refugees from authorities	-0.01	0.57**	0.67**	7.64	14
Econ. support to underground refugees	0.31**	0.32**	0.4***	8.33	118
Other support to underground ref.	0.14	0.32	0.5**	8.63	41
Refugees living in private home	0.32**	0.41***	0.47***	8.17	94

Note: ***=χ^2 p-value<0.001; **=χ^2 p-value<0.01; *=χ^2 p-value<0.05. For cell-fill: Light grey= 0.1<γ<0.2; medium grey= 0.2<γ<0.4; Dark grey= 0.4<γ

The movement has a broad repertoire. The items measuring the repertoire are listed in table A6. The same activist may have performed all 16 kinds of activities in the repertoire. The mean is 4.5 with a S.D. of 2.5. The γ-coefficients express the activities relation to loss of institutional trust and grey cell-fill indicates the strength of the relation. Almost all activities in the repertoire relates to a significant loss of trust in parliament, whereas the relations to loss of trust in the legal system and the police are more varied. The fifth column is a measure of integration in civil society or the activists organizational capital. Depending on present and prior membership as well as status as active in different kinds of civil society organizations, the respondent can obtain a score from 0-18. The score increases with the number of kinds of associations the respondent are related to. Here it reveals that there is only minor differences in the civil society integration between those engaged in the different kinds of activities. This is taken to justify that a loss of institutional trust related to the different activities are equally related to the civic engagement and civil society.

9.8. Kinds of activity and loss of institutional trust – all controls

Covariates	Parliament			Legal system			Police		
	Coef.	S.E.	p-value	Coef.	S.E.	p-value	Coef.	S.E.	p-value
Political activism (0-6)	0.237	0.033	0.000	0.145	0.039	0.000	0.101	0.054	0.061
Civil disobedience (0-2)	0.293	0.164	0.073	0.418	0.139	0.003	0.574	0.167	0.001
Humanitarian activity (0-4)	0.029	0.049	0.558	0.049	0.054	0.363	-0.073	0.076	0.341
Income (1-10)	-0.117	0.064	0.070	-0.182	0.075	0.015	-0.143	0.107	0.179
Occupation									
Full time	Reference			Reference			Reference		
Part time	0.105	0.203	0.605	0.027	0.241	0.912	0.013	0.345	0.971
Self-employed	-0.096	0.199	0.631	0.599	0.222	0.007	0.208	0.349	0.552
Education	0.020	0.248	0.934	-0.015	0.271	0.956	-0.526	0.373	0.158
Unemployed	0.047	0.329	0.886	0.584	0.340	0.086	-0.047	0.484	0.922
Early retiree	0.028	0.304	0.928	0.445	0.323	0.167	0.096	0.458	0.833
Pensioner	-0.115	0.256	0.654	0.307	0.301	0.307	0.456	0.417	0.275
Other	-0.290	0.250	0.245	0.303	0.293	0.301	0.403	0.400	0.314
Work time (1-5)	-0.049	0.050	0.326	0.031	0.060	0.604	-0.062	0.088	0.486
Education (1-5)	0.020	0.058	0.729	-0.095	0.062	0.126	-0.143	0.083	0.086
Gender									
Female	Reference			Reference			Reference		
Male	-0.088	0.147	0.547	0.006	0.171	0.971	0.574	0.208	0.006
Do not identify as either	-1.486	0.644	0.021	-0.066	0.701	0.925	1.059	0.739	0.152
Degree of urbanization (1-5)	-0.033	0.045	0.459	-0.048	0.049	0.328	0.027	0.068	0.695
Children in household (0-1)	-0.066	0.123	0.591	-0.119	0.139	0.393	-0.511	0.200	0.011
Age (Years)	0.010	0.006	0.091	-0.003	0.007	0.651	-0.015	0.009	0.096
Refugee (0-1)	-0.430	0.313	0.170	0.025	0.322	0.938	-0.317	0.406	0.435
Active in party (0-1)	-0.422	0.176	0.017	0.003	0.200	0.986	0.136	0.258	0.599
Active in union (0-1)	-0.125	0.164	0.445	-0.020	0.191	0.915	0.033	0.253	0.895
Active in religious ass. (0-1)	0.097	0.189	0.606	-0.522	0.235	0.027	0.090	0.317	0.776
Active in sports ass. (0-1)	-0.163	0.112	0.145	-0.065	0.133	0.625	-0.224	0.192	0.245
Active in other ass. (0-1)	-0.141	0.113	0.213	0.035	0.128	0.786	0.030	0.177	0.864
Active prior to Sept. (0-1)	0.085	0.108	0.428	0.129	0.125	0.304	0.268	0.177	0.130
History of other act. (0-6)	-0.008	0.043	0.859	-0.050	0.053	0.346	-0.088	0.078	0.257
History of refugee act. (0-5)	0.024	0.056	0.663	0.023	0.065	0.719	0.150	0.089	0.090
Self-transcendent values (1-8)	0.125	0.029	0.000	0.090	0.035	0.011	0.100	0.050	0.046
Self-enhancement val. (1-8)	0.061	0.037	0.098	-0.012	0.042	0.776	0.064	0.058	0.273
Political attitude (0-10)	-0.263	0.062	0.000	-0.138	0.073	0.058	-0.316	0.106	0.003
Religion									
None	Reference			Reference			Reference		
National Danish Church	0.002	0.132	0.989	-0.139	0.153	0.365	-0.118	0.220	0.591
Islam	-0.150	0.391	0.700	0.406	0.384	0.290	0.874	0.466	0.061
Other	0.138	0.264	0.602	0.233	0.264	0.377	0.313	0.344	0.362
Church attendance freq. (1-5)	-0.004	0.062	0.943	0.094	0.071	0.183	0.046	0.098	0.638
Generalized trust (1-4)	-0.085	0.099	0.394	-0.201	0.113	0.076	-0.116	0.156	0.457
Constant	0.708	0.860	0.410	-0.631	0.930	0.498	-0.558	1.233	0.651
df=35	n=1,910. Pseudo R^2=.078			n=1,910. Pseudo R^2=.066			n=1,910. Pseudo R^2=.107		

9.9. Kinds of activity and loss of institutional trust – reduced models

Covariates	Parliament			Legal system			Police		
	Coef.	S.E.	p-value	Coef.	S.E.	p-value	Coef.	S.E.	p-value
Political activism (0-6)	0.235	0.032	0.000	0.145	0.038	0.000	0.105	0.052	0.045
Civil dosibedience (0-2)	0.294	0.161	0.068	0.389	0.135	0.004	0.586	0.161	0.000
Humanitarian activity (0-4)	0.043	0.047	0.364	0.070	0.051	0.168	-0.059	0.072	0.407
Income (1-10)	-0.089	0.046	0.054	-0.225	0.053	0.000	-0.204	0.074	0.006
Gender									
Female	Reference			Reference			Reference		
Male	-0.078	0.143	0.584	0.024	0.167	0.886	0.640	0.201	0.001
Do not identify as either	-1.660	0.647	0.010	0.059	0.686	0.932	0.970	0.725	0.181
Chilidren in household (0-1)	-0.131	0.108	0.223	-0.151	0.124	0.224	-0.549	0.183	0.003
Active in party (0-1)	-0.421	0.172	0.014	0.059	0.195	0.761	0.203	0.248	0.414
Self-transcendent values (1-8)	0.114	0.028	0.000	0.095	0.035	0.006	0.108	0.049	0.027
Political attitude (0-10)	-0.257	0.059	0.000	-0.129	0.070	0.065	-0.311	0.101	0.002
Religion									
None	Reference			Reference			Reference		
National Danish Church	0.059	0.109	0.589	-0.130	0.129	0.315	-0.068	0.185	0.715
Islam	-0.139	0.373	0.709	0.433	0.359	0.227	1.021	0.415	0.014
Other	0.200	0.249	0.424	0.238	0.246	0.333	0.413	0.315	0.191
Generalized trust (1-4)	-0.105	0.097	0.282	-0.225	0.111	0.043	-0.161	0.152	0.290
Constant	0.468	0.394	0.235	-0.800	0.453	0.077	-1.527	0.628	0.015
df=14	n=1,910. Pseudo R^2=.070.			n=1,910. Pseudo R^2=.055.			n=1,910. Pseudo R^2=.089.		

9.10. 'How important is it *That all citizens have an adequate standard of Living?'* (1-7). Comparing movement sample and general population

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	0.079	0.042	0.059	-0.003	0.160
Male (0-1)	-0.218	0.040	0.000	-0.296	-0.141
Age (Years)	0.003	0.001	0.019	0.000	0.005
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	-0.042	0.017	0.014	-0.075	-0.008
Job status (0-1)	-0.144	0.038	0.000	-0.218	-0.069
Children in household (0-1)	0.023	0.041	0.564	-0.056	0.103
Civil status (0-1)	-0.040	0.040	0.317	-0.119	0.038
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.014	0.018	0.449	-0.022	0.049
History of activism (0-2)	-0.011	0.010	0.264	-0.030	0.008
Political attitude (0-10)	-0.112	0.007	0.000	-0.126	-0.098
Constant	6.974	0.114	0.000	6.750	7.197

n=3,092. R^2=.131. df=10. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.11. 'How important is it *That government authorities respect and protect the rights of minorities?'* (1-7). Comparing movement sample and general population

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	0.178	0.041	0.000	0.097	0.259
Male (0-1)	-0.115	0.039	0.003	-0.192	-0.038
Age (Years)	0.009	0.001	0.000	0.007	0.012
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	0.031	0.017	0.066	-0.002	0.064
Job status (0-1)	-0.128	0.038	0.001	-0.202	-0.054
Children in household (0-1)	0.037	0.040	0.362	-0.042	0.115
Civil status (0-1)	-0.031	0.040	0.438	-0.109	0.047
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.014	0.018	0.425	-0.021	0.050
History of activism (0-2)	0.017	0.009	0.072	-0.002	0.036
Political attitude (0-10)	-0.090	0.007	0.000	-0.104	-0.076
Constant	6.121	0.113	0.000	5.899	6.342

n=3,092. R^2=.133. df=10. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.12. 'How important is it *That people be given more opportunities to participate in public decision-making?'* (1-7). Comparing movement sample and general population

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	-0.141	0.056	0.012	-0.251	-0.032
Male (0-1)	-0.079	0.053	0.138	-0.183	0.025
Age (Years)	0.006	0.002	0.000	0.002	0.009
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	-0.045	0.023	0.048	-0.090	0.000
Job status (0-1)	0.039	0.051	0.453	-0.062	0.139
Children in household (0-1)	-0.140	0.055	0.010	-0.247	-0.033
Civil status (0-1)	-0.139	0.054	0.010	-0.245	-0.034
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.001	0.024	0.968	-0.047	0.049
History of activism (0-2)	0.004	0.013	0.755	-0.021	0.029
Political attitude (0-10)	-0.102	0.010	0.000	-0.121	-0.084
Constant	6.261	0.153	0.000	5.960	6.561

n=3,092. R^2=.050. df=10. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.13. 'How important is it *That citizens may engage in acts of civil disobedience when they oppose government actions.?'* (1-7). Comparing movement sample and general population

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	0.443	0.081	0.000	0.285	0.602
Male (0-1)	0.198	0.077	0.010	0.048	0.348
Age (Years)	-0.004	0.002	0.100	-0.008	0.001
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	0.028	0.033	0.387	-0.036	0.093
Job status (0-1)	-0.159	0.074	0.032	-0.304	-0.014
Children in household (0-1)	-0.111	0.079	0.156	-0.266	0.043
Civil status (0-1)	-0.275	0.078	0.000	-0.427	-0.123
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.069	0.035	0.050	0.000	0.138
History of activism (0-2)	0.049	0.019	0.009	0.012	0.085
Political attitude (0-10)	-0.185	0.014	0.000	-0.212	-0.158
Constant	5.032	0.221	0.000	4.599	5.465

n=3,092. R^2=.116. df=10. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.14. 'How important is it *That governments respect democratic rights whatever the circumstances'* (1-7). Comparing movement sample and general population

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	0.216	0.046	0.000	0.127	0.306
Male (0-1)	0.045	0.043	0.300	-0.040	0.130
Age (Years)	0.006	0.001	0.000	0.003	0.008
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	0.069	0.019	0.000	0.033	0.106
Job status (0-1)	-0.053	0.042	0.211	-0.135	0.030
Children in household (0-1)	-0.046	0.045	0.306	-0.133	0.042
Civil status (0-1)	-0.096	0.044	0.030	-0.182	-0.009
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.032	0.020	0.114	-0.008	0.071
History of activism (0-2)	0.013	0.011	0.212	-0.008	0.034
Political attitude (0-10)	-0.049	0.008	0.000	-0.064	-0.033
Constant	5.823	0.125	0.000	5.577	6.068

n=3,092. R^2=.059. df=10. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.15. Petitioning prior to September 2015. Comparing the Danish population and new movement members in September

Covariate	Odds ratio	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	0.407	0.038	0.000	0.339	0.487
Male (0-1)	1.011	0.087	0.895	0.854	1.198
Age (Years)	1.011	0.003	0.000	1.005	1.016
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	1.143	0.043	0.000	1.061	1.231
Job status (0-1)	1.231	0.110	0.020	1.034	1.466
Children in household (0-1)	1.107	0.104	0.278	0.921	1.331
Civil status (0-1)	1.381	0.132	0.001	1.146	1.665
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.945	0.039	0.167	0.872	1.024
Constant	0.226	0.056	0.000	0.139	0.367

n=3,022. Pseudo R^2=.044. df=8. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.16. Product boycott prior to September 2015. Comparing the Danish population and new movement members in September

Covariate	Odds ratio	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	1.203	0.123	0.072	0.984	1.470
Male (0-1)	0.985	0.100	0.884	0.807	1.203
Age (Years)	1.015	0.003	0.000	1.009	1.022
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	1.051	0.047	0.267	0.963	1.146
Job status (0-1)	1.257	0.130	0.027	1.026	1.540
Children in household (0-1)	1.288	0.138	0.018	1.044	1.588
Civil status (0-1)	1.223	0.133	0.065	0.988	1.515
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	1.038	0.049	0.430	0.946	1.139
Constant	0.060	0.018	0.000	0.033	0.108

n=3,022. Pseudo R^2=.015. df=8. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.17. Demonstration prior to September 2015. Comparing the Danish population and new movement members in September

Covariate	Odds ratio	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	1.616	0.145	0.000	1.355	1.928
Male (0-1)	0.794	0.073	0.012	0.663	0.951
Age (Years)	1.005	0.003	0.070	1.000	1.011
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	1.338	0.055	0.000	1.235	1.450
Job status (0-1)	1.152	0.104	0.119	0.964	1.375
Children in household (0-1)	1.121	0.106	0.229	0.931	1.350
Civil status (0-1)	1.074	0.101	0.451	0.892	1.292
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.968	0.041	0.448	0.892	1.052
Constant	0.100	0.026	0.000	0.060	0.167

n=3,022. Pseudo R^2=.044. df=8. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.18. Political meeting prior to September 2015. Comparing the Danish population and new movement members in September

Covariate	Odds ratio	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	1.351	0.121	0.001	1.133	1.611
Male (0-1)	1.036	0.092	0.694	0.870	1.234
Age (Years)	1.017	0.003	0.000	1.011	1.022
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	1.151	0.045	0.000	1.066	1.242
Job status (0-1)	1.102	0.099	0.280	0.924	1.313
Children in household (0-1)	1.128	0.107	0.205	0.936	1.358
Civil status (0-1)	1.028	0.096	0.765	0.856	1.234
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.952	0.039	0.228	0.878	1.032
Constant	0.114	0.029	0.000	0.069	0.188

n=3,022. Pseudo R^2=.023. df=8. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.19. Contact politician prior to September 2015. Comparing the Danish population and new movement members in September

Covariate	Odds ratio	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	1.934	0.204	0.000	1.573	2.378
Male (0-1)	1.070	0.114	0.524	0.869	1.317
Age (Years)	1.023	0.004	0.000	1.016	1.030
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	1.104	0.052	0.036	1.007	1.211
Job status (0-1)	1.363	0.147	0.004	1.104	1.682
Children in household (0-1)	1.220	0.136	0.075	0.980	1.518
Civil status (0-1)	1.162	0.129	0.176	0.935	1.445
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.907	0.043	0.040	0.827	0.995
Constant	0.038	0.012	0.000	0.020	0.072

n=3,022. Pseudo R^2=.043. df=8. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.20. Donated money prior to September 2015. Comparing the Danish population and new movement members in September

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	1.070	0.106	0.493	0.881	1.301
Male (0-1)	0.978	0.096	0.825	0.807	1.187
Age (Years)	0.998	0.003	0.583	0.993	1.004
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	1.066	0.045	0.129	0.982	1.157
Job status (0-1)	0.946	0.092	0.570	0.782	1.145
Children in household (0-1)	1.076	0.111	0.480	0.878	1.318
Civil status (0-1)	0.869	0.087	0.163	0.714	1.058
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	1.051	0.049	0.289	0.959	1.151
Constant	0.237	0.063	0.000	0.140	0.399

n=3,022. Pseudo R^2=.003. df=8. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.21. Contact the media prior to September 2015. Comparing the Danish population and new movement members in September

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	2.061	0.235	0.000	1.648	2.578
Male (0-1)	1.047	0.122	0.694	0.834	1.314
Age (Years)	1.017	0.004	0.000	1.010	1.025
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	1.197	0.062	0.001	1.081	1.326
Job status (0-1)	1.154	0.132	0.210	0.922	1.443
Children in household (0-1)	1.000	0.122	1.000	0.788	1.270
Civil status (0-1)	0.885	0.102	0.287	0.706	1.109
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	0.900	0.046	0.041	0.814	0.996
Constant	0.041	0.014	0.000	0.021	0.079

n=3,022. Pseudo R^2=.043. df=8. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.

9.22. Expressed political views on internet prior to September 2015. Comparing the Danish population and new movement members in September

Covariate	Coefficient	S.E.	p-value	95% Confidence interval	
Population-Movement (0-1)	1.947	0.261	0.000	1.498	2.532
Male (0-1)	1.345	0.178	0.025	1.037	1.743
Age (Years)	0.982	0.004	0.000	0.974	0.990
Level of educational attainment (1-5)	1.121	0.064	0.045	1.002	1.255
Job status (0-1)	1.378	0.182	0.015	1.064	1.786
Children in household (0-1)	1.102	0.143	0.455	0.854	1.422
Civil status (0-1)	0.854	0.112	0.232	0.660	1.106
Residence degree of urabnization (1-5)	1.014	0.063	0.828	0.897	1.145
Constant	0.111	0.039	0.000	0.055	0.221

n=3,022. Pseudo R^2=.036. df=8. General population is ISSP round 2014 Danish sample.